

A SHORT
VIEW
OF THE
ENGLISH HISTORY.

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A SHORT
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ENGLISH HISTORY:
WITH

REFLECTIONS, Political, Historical,
Civil, Physical, and Moral, on
the Reigns of the KINGS, their
Characters, and Manners, their Suc-
cession to the Throne, and all other
remarkable Incidents, to the Revo-
lution 1688.

Drawn from Authentick MEMOIRS and
MANUSCRIPTS.

W. H. Higgon.

By B. HIGGONS, Gent.

Discite Justitiam moniti. Virg.

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MDCCXXIII.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

 *T* has been a received Maxim in all Ages, and Countries, not to write the HISTORY of one's own Times, Truth, too bright and dazzling, like the Sun, can only be safely look'd on through the Distance, and Mist of Time, when the Rays
are

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are rebated proportionably to the Weakness of Mens Sight, and the Passions grown cooler make them more unconcern'd, and less partial Judges even of Matter of Fact; for this Reason, the Author has let these Papers lie cover'd with Dust these 26 Years, till every Person concern'd in the Transactions mention'd was remov'd from the Stage; Decency, and good Manners to the Living, seem to exact this Conduct, but the Proverb, In mortuos nil nisi bonum, only regards civil and private Life, and is not to be followed in publick Affairs, where

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where Posterity are to be instructed, and acquainted with Truth, which surely may be spoken of the Dead, without giving Offence to the Living, or else there is an End of History; the Author has been so very tender in this Point as to avoid, wherever he cou'd, the mention of Names, leaving that to Annalists, and Compilers of Chronicles, who are obliged to the last Exactness; nor has he taken less Care in these Reflections to fling the Faults of the Leaders in general Terms, without Names, on the whole Party who shar'd the Guilt, and fought under

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der their Banners, that the Number of Shoulders might make the Weight of Reproach the lighter, for no wise Man will pick himself out in a Crowd, unless he is so particularly pointed at, as not to be mistaken: If these Papers are receiv'd with the same Candour, and Impartiality they were written, the Reader, it is hop'd, will be entertain'd, and the Author sufficiently requited for the Pains he has taken.

November 25, 1722.

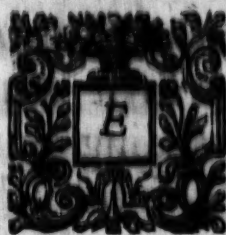




A Short VIEW of the
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SECTION I.



England and *Scotland* joined together make without dispute, tho' not for Extent, in all other Respects, the most considerable Island in the Universe: As in Winter the warm Vapours from the neighbouring Seas permit not the Snows to lie long unmelted, so in the Summer the constant Breezes and frequent Rains, by the re-
 B bating

bating the violent Heat of the Sun, always preserve a Verdure unknown to the more Southern Climates in the one Season, and the more Northern in the other: So that the Isle of *Great Britain* lying towards the End of the temperate Zone, from 50 Degrees to almost 60, owes the Mildness of her Air to the Accident of Situation, being on all Sides surrounded by most bountiful Seas, which, not content to defend her from external Dangers by Invasions, add to the Happiness of this Security, not only the Conveniences, but the Pleasures, and Luxuries of Life.

As this Situation renders us secure from the Insults of others, so it cuts off our Hopes of ever extending our Empire Abroad, by reducing us to such Circumstances as King *James* the First said of himself in unweildy Armour, *That he could hurt Nobody, and Nobody could hurt him.* To this Security from Abroad, and great Plenty of all Things at Home, are owing in a great Measure

sure our frequent Dissentions, and Civil Wars, an Account of which will be the chief Subject of this Treatise: But before we enter into that Detail, it will be necessary to make a short Inquiry after our Original, and see from whence we came.

In this Discussion I shall leave the Etymology of the Word *Britain* to the Decision of learned Antiquaries, among whom the excellent *Cambden* seems to carry the greatest Weight and Authority, who rejects the fabulous and absurd Supposition of a *Trojan* Prince called *Brutus*, whom some Writers have reported to be the first, who planted this Island with People: This improbable Story was first invented by the lazy Monks in the dark Age, when the Ignorance of Mankind made them capable of believing any Absurdity, that was impos'd on them by these Drones, who seem'd to have nothing else to do, but to deceive the World: Nor has this foolish Vanity of deriving a Pedi-

gree from the *Trojans* been peculiar to the People of this Island, for other Nations have had their Share of this Folly; but to return to our Argument, the most probable Conjecture is, laying aside the forc'd Etymologies from the *Greek*, that the first Inhabitants were so called from the Word *Brith*, which in the *British* Language, signifies, Painted; now it being notorious that the first known Inhabitants had a Custom of painting their Bodies, both to defend them from the Cold, and make them appear more terrible to their Enemies, it is highly probable that the *Greeks*, from this *Brith*, coined their BPETANNIA, which Name they transmitted to the *Romans*, who were not acquainted with this Island till some Ages after the *Greeks*.

But leaving these Uncertainties, the Names of Nations being as dark and unretrievable as their Originals, we find the first Account to be rely'd on, in the Commentaries of *Julius Caesar*,
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an Author of unexceptionable Credit, to whose Relation of his Expedition into *Kent*, I refer the Reader, and shall only infer from him, that the ancient *Britons* were very savage, and uncivilized, Necessity not having yet instructed them to defend their Bodies by the Invention of Cloaths, nor so much as to build Houses against the Inclemency of Heaven in Winter; *Cæsar* informing us, that their Towns were only Trees cut down, and intrench'd about, to secure them from Surprizes by any sudden Incurſion of their Enemies.

That the ancient *Britons* were descended from the *Gauls* is hardly to be disputed; of this Assertion, the Resemblance of Language, Manners, Customs, and Religions, is an irrefragable Argument; besides, the Situation of *Britain* being nearer to *France* than any other Part of the Continent, it is highly probable that at first Mankind, when so very raw in the Art of Navigation,

gation, ventured upon the shortest Traject, when they trusted themselves on an Element, with which they were so little acquainted; not to mention that groundless Supposition, that this Island was annex'd to the Continent of *Gaul* by a Neck of Land between *Dover* and *Boleyn*, but broke asunder by the Violence of the Sea, as 'tis reported *Sicily* was from *Italy*; if this Conjecture should be true, it is most probable that these Changes happen'd in the Great Deluge, when in that universal Concussion of all Things Nature was disjointed, so that the Face of the Earth, which we now see, seems but the Ruins of the antideluvian World, according to the Opinion of a late learned Author, who has writ upon this Subject.

As this Vicinity to *Gaul* confirms the Probability of the *Britons* Extraction from that People, so the easiness of the Passage all-along preserv'd the Correspondence between the two Nations,

tions, the *Gauls*, sending their Children to be instructed in the Precepts of Religion by the *British* Druids, became so well acquainted with the *Britons*, that they were the first People who were able to give the *Romans* an Account of this Island; upon which Information *Julius Caesar*, fired with the Hopes of conquering a new World, first form'd the Design of an Expedition against the *Britons*, whom he found to differ very little from the neighbouring *Gauls*, but in the Roughness of their Manners; this Inhospitability and Aversion to Strangers, which *Horace* denotes in the People of this Island seventeen hundred Years ago, '*Visam Brittannos Hospitibus feros*, seem to remain in the Natures of the common People not civilized by a good Education, at this very Day, notwithstanding they are a different Race: This Consideration has made me often reflect, whether or no there is not some occult Quality in the Air of every particular Country,

which may dispose the respective Inhabitants to such and such a Genius, and Temper; it is very probable the modern *Italians*, notwithstanding they have very little of the ancient Blood in their Veins, by Reason of their Mixture with the *Goths*, and *Vandals*, nevertheless by living in the same Climate, approach nearer to the Nature and Temper of the old Inhabitants, than any other People whatsoever: The *French* at this Day, tho' a different Race of People, seem to resemble very much the ancient *Gauls*, in a great many Qualities; and the *Saxons*, by coming into this Country, seem to have added to their own natural Fierceness the Inhospitability of the old *Britons*.

The Government both among *Gauls* and *Britons* resemble very much, these Nations being broke into petty Kingdoms under their several Royolets; a Polity the most natural to Mankind, in which the wisest, the bravest, and the

the strongest, being elevated by these natural Advantages above the rest, challenged the Preheminence of conducting the People in Time of War, and governing them in Peace; this was the Civil Economy, into which Mankind fell of course, when they found the absolute Necessity of having some Sort of Government, to avoid the Inconveniences in a State of Nature; we find this very Form in *America*, and other Parts of the World at this very Day, where Mankind are only guided by the Light of Nature; but in more civiliz'd Countries, where Men have given up Part of their Natural Liberty by entering into Compacts, they are obliged to pay the Obedience they promised to such particular Persons, and Families.

Under the auspicious Conduct of these, rather Captains of Tribes than Princes, did this Warlike People bravely defend their Liberties against the best disciplin'd Troops in the World,
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under the Command of the greatest Man alive; who seems rather to have discovered, than to have conquered *Britain*, which was not reduced into a *Roman* Province, till a considerable Time afterward, in the Reign of *Claudius Caesar*. But the *Britons* did not easily resign their Liberties, without a vigorous Effort and Struggle, to preserve them; witness, the many Overthrows they gave to the *Roman* Legions, especially under the auspicious Conduct of their invincible Amazon *Boadicea*, who by the repeated Victories, she snatch'd from the Conqueror, almost extinguish'd the *Roman* Name in this Island; till at last by a Reverse of Fortune, being reduc'd to great Extremity in a Siege, and one of her Daughters ravish'd, she could no longer bear the lost Honour of her House, and Slavery of her Country, but by a manly Resolution with her own Hands put an End to her Glorious Life, not more like a *Roman* than a *Briton*.

About

About 500 Years was *Britain* under the Power of the *Romans*, till the Empire being invaded on all Sides by Deluges of barbarous Nations, the Garrisons planted in the Northern Parts to assist the *Britons* against the *Picts*, a most warlike and cruel People, were recall'd to defend the Empire; upon which the poor *Britons*, left destitute of Succours, and unable to resist the Fury and Numbers of the Enemy, were at last forced to call in the *Saxons*, a People of *Germany*, to their Aid, an Expedient equally as dangerous as Blowing-up a Ship to preserve her from being taken, the Truth of which will be demonstrated in the Sequel of this Story.

The perfidious *Saxons* had no sooner expell'd the *Picts*, but they cast a longing Eye on the Country they had defended; at first they had a Corner of the Island given them, as a Remuneration for their Assistance in expelling the *Picts*, but not contented with the
 Portion

Portion assign'd, they resolv'd to have all or none; and taking Advantage of the Weakness of *Vortigern* the then *British* King, who falling in Love with the Daughter of one of the *Saxon* Leaders, had married her, sent over into *Germany* for more Forces, which being arriv'd, gave them such Footing in the Country as never to be driven out afterward by all the Efforts of the *Britons*, notwithstanding the prodigious Courage of *Aurelius Ambrosius* and King *Arthur*, who left nothing unattempted to relieve their Country; but though these two Heroes acquired great Victories, the Fate of their Country was too strong to be resisted; the perfidious *Saxons* obtain'd by Treachery what they could not by open Force, for they inhumanly murder'd the *British* Nobility on *Salisbury* Plain at a Banquet, tho' met upon the publick Faith, of which Treachery remain as Monuments to this Day, several Stones of vast Bigness, some laid a-cross, and others

others fallen down by Length of Time, suppos'd to be erected on this Plain near the Place, where the *British* Nobility were buried after this cruel Assassination.

These Monuments are look'd upon by the ignorant common People hereabouts as the Effect of Magick, for which they have a Tradition, that they were convey'd to the Place where they now stand, by the Art of *Merlin*, a famous *British* Enchanter; that which seems to give Credit to this Belief of the People is, the vast Bulk of the Stones, which are too heavy to be brought far, by any Carriage known in that Age, which we must suppose very rude in Mechanicks, there being no Quarries of Stone whence they could be brought within a great Distance; besides they tell you, that it is impossible to number these Stones; but this is certainly a Mistake, the Difficulty of the Numeration arising from the confus'd and irregular Order in which

which they lie, as my Lord Bacon observes in Opticks, *Pluralitas Partium, ubi Ordo abest, inducit Similitudinem infiniti, ac impedit comprehensionem*. So the Stars by their confus'd Appearances have made the Ignorant of all Ages conclude them to be innumerable; but the Difficulty is to answer, how these vast Stones came thither; but this Question will fall to the Ground if we submit to the Opinion of the Judicious, that these Stones are not natural, but artificial, and so consequently made upon the Place.

As for King *Arthur*, he was certainly a great Heroe, but has had the Misfortune to have his true Actions so brew'd with the Fictions of the legendary Monks in those Times, that we not knowing how to sever the Truth from the Romance, are apt to disbelieve every thing that seems in the least improbable; so that the great Actions of this Prince suffer in Story for being in ill Company.

After

After the Decease of these two Great Men *Aurelius* and *Arthur*, the Affairs of the *Britons* declin'd daily; so that after several bloody Conflicts between the Christian *Britons*, and the Heathen *Saxons*, the former were forc'd to retreat from all the level and fruitful Parts of the Island, to the barren Rocks and Mountains of *Wales*, where they defended themselves for several Ages with wonderful Gallantry; so much is Liberty with all brave and generous Minds preferable to Riches: The *Saxons* being thus Masters of the greatest and best Part of the Island, divided the Country among themselves according to the Custom of the *Gothick* Nations, every one having an Assignment in Land, proportionable to the Share he had in the Enterprize: It has been a great Dispute among the Learned, out of what Part of *Germany* these *Saxons*, the Ancestors of the present *English*, came; there can nothing be certain concerning a barbarous People, who
 having

having no Letters among them, till after their Conquest of *Britain*, they grew civilized by embracing the Christian Faith, could consequently have no Records of their Original; but 'tis the most probable Opinion, that they were not any particular Nation, but a general Collection of all the lower *Germany*, especially those who lived nearest the Sea, and so came acquainted with Maritime Affairs, by a long Exercise of Piracy; to these were join'd the *Fates* and *Angles* from the *Cimbrick Chersonese*, now called *Futland* and *Holstein*, from which last People the *Angles*, *Egbert* the first Monarch, who reduced the Heptarchy, commanded the Country to be called *England*, though the present *Welsh* in the *British* Language, call the *English* *Saifons* to this very Day.

The *Saxons* were for some Time employ'd in forming themselves into Governments, and dividing the new acquired Country into several little King-

Kingdoms; when the Church of *Rome*, at that Time triumphant in the Success of her Missions, sent *Austin* the Monk into *England*, whose Preaching had that powerful Influence as to convert *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* to the Christian Faith, and all his People, who in those Days were generally so civil as to be always of the Religion of their Prince; the rest of the *Saxon* Heptarchy soon followed the Example of *Kent*, and were converted. The fierce Temper of this Northern People being mollified and sweetened by the mild Spirit of Christianity, it is incredible with what Ardour and Devotion they fell to building Churches, and founding religious Houses, as if now by an Excess of Piety, they would make Amends for the Pillage and Prophanation of Christian Altars during their Wars with the *Britons*; not in the least apprehending, that their Posterity would ravish away, and secularize those Portions, which their De-

C votion

vetion had appropriated to the Service of God.

But it was not long after they had embraced Christianity, before they began to degenerate from those Principles which the first Impressions of that Religion had infused into them; they now wallow'd in all Manner of Luxury and Debauchery, and in their mutual Dissentions fell into horrid Treasons, Murders, and Ufurpations; which provok'd the Divine Vengeance to excite another Northern Nation, infamous for their Cruelty and Piracies, to chastise them for their Impieties, and retaliate the Injuries and Cruelties which they had offered to the poor Britons in the Conquest of that People: These were the *Danes*, not only the Inhabitants of the present *Denmark*, but a collected Rabble of all the Northern Nations out of *Scandinavia* and *Norway*, from whence those terrible People the *Normanni* came, who in their Expeditions contented only to pillage the

the Coasts of *England* in their Way, settled themselves at last in *Nenstria*, which Name they changed into *Normandy*, having by the meer Terroure of their Arms obtained that Country as free Gift from the King of *France*: Not long after, those who were left behind of this Rabble, comprehended under the Name of *Danes*, began to infest the Sea Coasts of *England*, first only in a Piratical Way, for after they had plunder'd, they return'd to their Ships; but finding the Goodness of the Soil, and Riches of the People, in Respect of themselves, they at last entered into formal Designs of invading, and conquering a Country so much better than their own.

The *Danes* made their first Descent with a Design of Conquest in the Time of *Egbert*, about the Year 818, but were repulsed by the Courage and superiour Genius of that Prince; who had made himself sole Monarch of *England*, by a final Reduction of the other

fix Kingdoms to the Obedience of the West Saxon.

Here we shall begin to observe the Succession of the Crown, the Kings of *England* in this Prince beginning to be vested with greater Authority, and to have more the Air of Majesty. Whereas in the Heptarchy, the Narrowness of their Dominions made them seem rather little Governors, or Heads of Clans, than sovereign Princes: To *Egbert* succeeded his Son

ETHELWOLPH,
who left four Sons successively one after another, by Right of Primogeniture, Kings of *England*,

ETHELBALD,

ETHELBERT,

ETHELRED,

ALFRED,

who proved a Wise, Vertuous, and Great Prince: After *Alfred*, his Son

EDWARD, the Elder,

ATHELSTAN,

EDMOND;

this

this Prince dying while his Children were in their Minority, contrary to Custom, was succeeded by his Brother *Edred*, who, though he assum'd the Title of King, was only look'd upon as Guardian to his Nephews; either the Title of Protector was not known or us'd at this Time, or perhaps they thought the Name and Character of King would give greater Weight, and imprint more Awe on his Authority among the People; but this Prince dying soon after, was succeeded by his Nephew, which is Demonstration that the People of *England* did not confer the Title of King on him, as his own Right, but in Trust for his Nephews, the eldest of which *Edwin* succeeded, notwithstanding *Edred* left Sons, who conscious of no Right, laid no Claim to the Crown, though the immediate Children of the late King; so falsely is this Case urged among other Precedents in the *English* Story, to justify the Elective Power of the People. *Ed-*

win proving a vicious and unworthy Prince, made his Reign both turbulent and short; but his Defects were amply recompenced by the Virtues of his Brother *Edgar*, who proved a very Great Prince, and would have been more illustrious if he had not stain'd the Reputation of his other great Qualities, by indulging too much his Libertinism; *Edgar* dying, left his Kingdom to his Son *Edward*, who was murdered by the Artifices of his ambitious Stepmother Queen *Elfride*, to make Way for her own Son *Etheldred* to mount the Throne; this Prince tho' innocent himself expiated the horrid Parricide committed by his Mother, his whole Reign being nothing but a constant Series of Blood and Calamities.

The *Danes*, who by Intervals only had afflicted the Kingdom before, now seem'd armed with the Vengeance of Heaven to punish the Race of Queen *Elfride*; various were the Events of this War, many bloody Battles won
and

and lost between these two fierce Nations; the one fighting to maintain the Country they had gotten not many Ages before by the same Violence, the other to mend their Fortunes by settling themselves in a more benign and auspicious Climate; at last the Fortune of the *Dane* prevailed so far, as to put him in Possession of the Kingdom, after the Settlement of which, *Suene* returning into *Denmark*, to look after his Affairs at Home, gave an Opportunity to King *Ethelred* to extirpate his Enemies, and free his Country for a Time; this was the famous Massacre of the *Danes*, which happened in the Reign of this King, and by his Orders, 1002.

There is nothing in Story more true, and yet more incredible than this one Action; that a Conspiracy so widely laid, and communicated to the whole *English* Nation, a People not celebrated for the Art of Secrecy, should not be discover'd by some one Person, before

the Time of Execution ; this shews the Incompatibility of the two People ; when we consider that no Ties of Blood, for they had intermarried, no Endearments between Man and Wife, nor the mutual Pledges of Children, which usually bind the Affections of Parents, could deter even the more tender Sex, for by their Hands was the cruel Blow given, from so horrid a Massacre.

To this barbarous Action the *English* Women, as it is credibly reported, owe those Privileges which they have acquired above those of their Sex in other Countries ; but it seems so far from an Honour, as some have thought it, that on the other Hand, it is an indelible Reproach to that Tenderness which should be the distinguishing Character of the Sex, whose only Business is to propagate Mankind, and nourish them with their Milk.

It is no Wonder at all, that any conquered People, whenever they see an Opportunity, should endeavour to shake

shake off the Yoke, and break their Chains, by the Destruction of their Masters; it has been done in all Ages and Countries, and will again, whenever a People oppress'd can assert their Liberties: But this Slaughter of the *Danes* has somewhat particular in it to raise our Horrour; when we consider the Circumstances, What an Idea must we form of Wives cutting the Throats of their Husbands, who could think themselves no where so safe as in their Arms? But what adds more to the Strangeness of this Story is, the Universality of the Action; it being affirm'd, that there was a *Danish* Soldier quartered on every House in *England*, every one of whom without Exception, at the same Time and by the same Hands, underwent the Fate of his Conntrymen.

This happen'd upon *St. Brice's Eve*, which Day is still celebrated by the Northern *English* in Commemoration of this infamous Action, the Women
beating

beating brass Instruments in the Streets, and singing old Rhymes in Praise of their cruel Ancestors! Upon this Occasion happened an Accident not unpleasant, since the late Revolution; several *Danish* Regiments taken into the *English* Service to be employ'd in the Reduction of *Ireland*, happened to Land in the North of *England* about the Time of this Anniversary; when marching into a Town upon this Day, they observed a strange Ceremony in the Streets, which prompted their Curiosity to ask, What was the Matter? When, to their no small Terror and Amazement, they were inform'd, That this Ceremony was in Commemoration of the *Danes* Throats being cut by the *English*. This put them into such a Fright, that they stood under Arms all Night, for fear of undergoing the Fate of their Ancestors 700 Years before.

The King of *Denmark*, advertis'd of this Slaughter, prepares an Army and Fleet

Fleet to revenge this Massacre, and reduce *England* to his Obedience: The Quarrel, which before being an Invasion of another's Right was unlawful, being now supported by Justice prospered accordingly; *Suene* recovered what he had lost in *England*, the Possession of which he left to his Son *Cannutus*, who after the Death of *Ethelred* found a more dangerous Rival in his Son *Edmond*, surnamed *Ironside*, from his Strength of Body and Hardiness of Constitution; this Quarrel, after several Battles with alternate Fortune, was at last composed between these two Princes, who being both gallant Men had a mutual Esteem for one another, and would have been always certainly Friends if they had not been Rivals in Empire; however, their Stars at last inclined to Peace, which was ratified between them after a single Combat in an Isle of the River *Severn*; the Conditions of which Peace were,

an

an equal Division of the Kingdom between them.

This Combat is one of the most odd and remarkable Incidents in the *English* Story, for after they had fought in Sight of both Armies for a good Space, without any great Disadvantage on either Side, they flung down their Swords, and embraced one another like Friends and Brothers, agreeing to a Partition of the Country between them, which Stipulation was amicably made, and religiously observed on both Sides; but not long after the unfortunate *Edmond*, circumvented by the Treachery of *Edrick* an *English* Nobleman, was murder'd: This perfidious Miscreant, after having perpetrated so horrid a Crime, thought to make his Court to *Cannus* by the Service of this infamous Action; but the generous *Dane* received the Villain with all the Horreur and Disdain such a Wretch deserved, and immediately commanded him to be put to Death, the just Reward

Reward of Treason in all Ages, tho' in our own Time we have some Examples to contradict this Observation; however, if an old *English* Proverb be true, *That all's well that ends well*, we may yet hope to see some Persons, guilty of the same Ingratitude to the best of Masters, tho' elevated now as they think above the Reach of Fortune, made Objects not only of Divine, but Human Vengeance.

After the Death of *Edmond*, *Canute* took Possession of the whole Kingdom, and married *Emma* the Widow of *Ethelred*, and Mother to *Edward* afterwards called the *Confessor*; this ambitious Woman, not regarding the Right of her Children by her former Husband King *Ethelred*, made an Agreement with *Canute* before she would marry him, that if he should have any Children by her they should inherit the Crown, which Conditions were perform'd by the *Dane*, for by Testament he left his Kingdom of *Denmark* to his eldest

eldest Son, and *England* to *Hardicanute* born of *Emma*; but *Harold* an elder Brother by another Venter, happening to be in *England* at the Death of his Father King *Canutus*, took the Advantage of *Hardicanute's* Absence in *Denmark*, and seized the Throne, which he disgraced by several Acts of Tyranny, being a most vicious and cruel Prince, but his Reign lasted not long; to him succeeded *Hardicanute*, who being equally as wicked as his Brother *Harold*, only shew'd the People that they had changed the Men, but not the Tyrant; but the *English* had soon the Satisfaction to see themselves delivered from the Oppression of a foreign Race, by the sudden Fate of this King, who dying in a Debauch at *Lambeth*, put an End to the *Danish* Dynasty in *England*.

After the Death of *Hardicanute*, the *Saxon* Blood was restored in *Edward*, for his Piety and Sufferings, surnamed the Confessor,

fessor, who had no just Title to the Crown, for the lawful Heir *Edward*, called the Out-law, who was Son to *Edmond Ironside*, was then an Exile in *Hungary*; but the People at this Time were so transported with their Deliverance from the *Danish* Race, that they elevated to the Throne the first *Saxon* they found with any Pretence of Title, for fear of falling again under the Dominion of the *Danes*.

However, tho' he injured the right Heir himself, he would suffer Nobody else to prejudice his just Pretensions, for which Reason he sent into *Hungary* for *Edward* the Out-law, and his Son *Edgar Atheling*, whom he treated with all manner of Respect and declared his Heirs; a wonderful Instance of the Simplicity and Temper of this Age, in which a Prince, conscious of his own Right, could sit still and suffer another quietly to possess his Throne, while at the same Time the Intruder entertained no Jealousy of so dangerous a Rival,

val, if he had thought fit to have asserted his Right.

This Prince was renowned for his exemplary Life, and particularly his Chastity, having lived forty Years in Wedlock, and after all that Time left his Queen a Virgin; whither or no this Abstinence from the lawful Pleasures of the Marriage Bed proceeded from any Scruple, or natural Infirmary, we will not determine; but to the extraordinary Vertues of this King is imputed by the *English* that peculiar Gift of curing the Distemper called the Evil, this being the first King in the World whose Touch was bless'd with that miraculous Operation; some have been apt to condemn the Opinion of this strange Cure, to be merely superstitious, as having no Ground in Reason, Philosophy, or Religion; and that if there is any Thing in it, 'tis effected by the Power of a strong Imagination in the Patient, which we often find to have wonderful Effects,
above

above the reach of human Reason to comprehend; but it is demonstrable that this Cure cannot proceed from Imagination, because the Objects on which it is try'd, are very often sucking Children, who are not sensible of what is doing to them: That this Touch of the Kings of *England* has had an unaccountable Effect in the Cure of this Scrophulous Distemper for almost seven hundred Years together, when all other human Remedies have failed, is a Truth so certain, that a Man must have a great deal of Assurance, who can deny Matter of Fact.

This *Edward*, being a wise as well as religious Prince, made several wholesome Laws for the better Government of the Common-wealth; insomuch that before *William* the Norman could quietly be admitted to the Crown of *England*, he was obliged by an Oath to observe inviolably the Laws of *St. Edward*, who, among other Monuments of his Piety, founded the Abbey of

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Westminster for *Benedictine* Monks; which noble Foundation, though mightily clipp'd in the Revenues, has had nevertheless the good Fortune to escape being totally swallowed by the Avarice of Favourites at the Time of the Reformation, being converted into a Collegiate Church by *Queen Elizabeth*, and so not alienated from the Service of God, to which it was dedicated by the pious Founder.

Behind the high Altar of this Abbey Church lies the Body of the Founder in a magnificent *Gothick* Tomb, but very much defaced by the Superstition of some, and the Curiosity of others, who have pick'd out the Blood-Stones and other Ornaments: The Death of this good Prince made Way for the greatest Revolution in *England*, since the *Saxon* Invasion, by the Conquest of *William the Norman*, which Period of Time is now the chiefest *Æra* in the *English* Chronology.

Upon

Upon the Death of *Edward the Confessor*, *Harold*, Son to Earl *Godwin*, seiz'd the Throne *Harold*, 1066. in Prejudice to the Right of *Edward Atheling*; this Earl *Godwin* was a Nobleman of vast Demeans and Power in the Time of the *Confessor*, most of which Lands were swallowed by an Irruption of the Sea on the Coast of *Kent*, in the Reign of *William Rufus*; however the Sands to this Day retain the Name of the old Proprietor. This is the Account in our common Chronicles; but *Somner*, a learned Antiquary of this Country, treats this Story as a vulgar Errour, by asserting that there never were any such Lands of Earl *Godwin*, this he proves by the Authority of *Doom's-Day Book*, which makes no mention of any such Estate; so that these Sands were not form'd by an Irruption, but a Dereliction of the Sea, occasioned by that great Inundation which happened about this Time on the Coasts of *Zeland* and *Flanders*;

this Consequently made the Shore of England shallower than before, and so exposed these Sands at low Tide, which till then were covered always by the greater Depth of Water: But to return to Earl Godwin, of whom there is a Story which may not be unenter-
 taining to the Reader who has never met with it before, which though it shews Cunning, and Address, is no great Instance of his Conscience and Honesty: This Earl being on a Progress in the Country, observed some Lands of that Beauty and Fertility, as to raise his Curiosity of knowing the Owner, when being informed that those Lands belonged to such a Nunnery, his Avarice immediately inspired him with a Desire of possessing this Estate, to which End he contrived the following Stratagem: He had a young Gentleman to his Nephew, whose Age did not exceed seventeen or eighteen Years, but of greater Beauty than is common to the rougher Sex, even in that Bloom;

Bloom; this young Man he contrived should be disguis'd in Womens Cloaths and introduced into the Nunnery, the Smoothness of his Chin, and a Womanish Complexion, carried on the Cheat till it was not the Interest of those who had discovered his Sex, to let the World know so much as themselves; (the Reader may guess at the Instructions given by the Uncle to his Nephew) in a few Months no less than ten of the Nuns proved with Child, and amongst the rest the Lady Abbess herself, who being a Woman of great Quality, was indulg'd in the Government of that Nunnery before the Age prescribed by the Canons, and so consequently not too old to be entangled in the agreeable Amuzements of an Amour; the young *Hercules* having so successfully performed his Part, gave Notice to his Uncle Earl *Godwin*, who running to the King informed him what had happened in such a Nunnery, with an Aggravation of every Circumstance:

cumstance: The Good King *Edward*, extremely disturbed at this infamous Story, declar'd, if it prov'd true, that the Nunnery should be suppressed; and immediately gave Orders to the Bishop of the Diocese to visit the Place, and make a particular Enquiry into this Affair.

This was all that Earl *Godwin* desired; the Matter of Fact appeared, the poor Nuns were ejected, the House demolished, and the Lands given to the covetous Earl who begg'd them. This Injustice and his other Crimes made him not long after an Object of Divine Vengeance, as he sat at Table with King *Edward*, who happened in accidental Discourse to make some Reflection on the Death of his Brother *Alfrid*, supposed to be murdered by the Contrivance of *Godwin*, who thinking to clear his Innocence by dreadful Imprecations, wished the Bread he was then eating might choak him, if he had any Hand in the Death of that Prince;

Prince ; these Accents were scarce out of his Mouth when he fell down dead at the King's Feet.

Nevertheless, the immense Riches he left behind enabled his Son *Harold* to ascend the Throne, the Nobility corrupted by his vast Munificence assisting him in his Usurpation ; by which we may see that Mankind were the same in all Ages, and that the same Causes will have the same Effects ; nor had the Clergy of this Time a less Share in this Injustice, the Exclusion of the lawful Heir *Edgar Atheling*, that Order of Men being generally most forward in Revolutions, though by their Profession, more removed than others from intermeddling in Temporal Affairs.

Harold was scarce warm in his new Seat, when the Dreams of Majesty were interrupted and broken by a surprizing Message from *William Duke of Normandy*, to demand the Crown of *England*, according to an Agreement made between *Harold* and himself. The Oc-

casion of this Stipulation is variously related by Historians, but the most common Account is, That *Harold*, in the Time of the *Confessor*, diverting himself in a little Vessel on the Coast of *Normandy*, by a sudden Tempest was driven on Shoar, and made a Prisoner; *William*, after having detain'd him some Time, gave him his Liberty, upon taking an Oath to assist the Duke of *Normandy* in his Pretensions to the Crown of *England*, whenever *Edward* the *Confessor* should die: This was the Promise, the Performance of which the *Norman* sent to demand of *Harold*, who wanted no Excuses to palliate this Violation of his Word, by declaring that the Oath was forced upon him when a Prisoner, and so consequently not valid, or obligatory: It could not be expected that this Message should make any Impression on so ambitious a Man as *Harold*, who having sacrificed his Honour and Conscience before, by usurping the Right of his lawful and
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natural Prince, could not be thought very sensible of any Reproaches from Duke *William*, who, besides a remote Alliance with *Edward the Confessor*, had no better a Pretence to the Crown, than *Harold* himself.

These Expostulations ended at last in a mutual Defiance; Duke *William* prepares an Army and Fleet to do himself Justice, as he called it, on the perjured Usurper of the Crown of *England*; while *Harold*, after having taken Care to secure the Southern Coasts against *Normandy*, in Case of an Invasion, marches with an Army Northward to encounter his Brother *Tostain*, who with a Rabble of *Danes* and *Norwegians* had made a Descent; where we will leave the two Brothers engaged, and return to the Duke of *Normandy*, who was a Bastard Son to Duke *Robert*, and Sixth in Descent from *Rollo* the Founder of this Family, from whom, in a right Line of Father and Son, the present young Earl of *Bath* is the 41st, he being

ing descended from a Second Son of Rollo; and Duke William, who afterwards conquer'd *England*, a Bastard of the elder Branch; Rollo founded this Dukedom meerly by the Reputation of his *Normans*, who not only assail'd the Northern Part of *Europe*, but carried the Terroure of their Arms over the *Alps*, and founded new Kingdoms in *Italy*; so formidable were these Pirates and Adventurers at this Time to the rest of the World, that a particular Deprecation was inserted in the *Litanies* of the Church, to implore the Protection of Heaven against the Fury of the *Normans*, who, now planted in a milder Climate, and under a warmer Sun, with the Advantage of bordering upon *France*, began to shake off that Ferity which they had brought with them from the Mountains of *Norway*, and to mellow by Degrees into Civility and good Manners, but retaining their ancient Courage withal, by a happy Composition and Mixture, made
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one of the bravest Races of Men that the World ever produced.

The Duke of *Normandy* having prepared all Things necessary for his Expedition, in which he was assisted by several neighbouring Princes, as well as his own Nobles and Feudatories, set sail for *England*, where he landed in a capacious Bay called, *Pemsey*, in *Sussex*; while *Harold*, who was at this Time in the North, having routed and slain his Brother, upon the first Notice of this Invasion marches Southward with a victorious Army to repel the Invader; both Armies met near *Hastings* in *Sussex*, at a Place since called, *Battle*, where the Conqueror afterward built an Abbey to expiate for so much Christian Blood shed by his Ambition on this unfortunate Spot of Ground.

This being the greatest Battle, for the Number of Slain, that has been fought in *Europe* for several Ages, I shall be the more particular in the Detail of this Day: The *English* being
more

more than double in Number to the Enemy, might, humanly speaking, promise themselves all the Success that could be expected from the Advantage of their Numbers, especially being flush'd with Victory, and conscious of that innate Gallantry which has in all Ages distinguished this People; so that we must ascribe the contrary Success to that unfathomable Providence which governs the Universe, contradicts sometimes its own Mechanism, by giving the same Causes different Effects, and snatches the Victory from the Strong, to bestow on the Weak; though there was one Accident which seems visible to contribute to the ill Success of this Day: The Night before the Battle happen'd to be the Eve of the King's Birth, and was celebrated by the *English* with all manner of Riot, and Debauchery; and while the *Normans* were at the Feet of their Confessors, imploring the Protection of Heaven, and preparing themselves for Death, the jolly *Saxons* spent

Spent the Night in Carousing, drinking Healths to their Leader, and Prosperity to their Arms; though this Debauch might probably inflame their Courage the next Morning, however it must impair their Strength, and blind their Conduct; which was the most agreeable to Heaven, the Success of the ensuing Day declared; for tho' the *English* behaved themselves with their usual Bravery, yet at last they lost both the Victory and their Country by an irretrievable Blow; in the Beginning of the Fight the *Normans* were every where repulsed, being unable to make any Impression on the Firmness of the *English* Battalions, when Duke *William* seeing his Sword could not prevail, had Recourse to a Stratagem; he ordered immediately a Retreat to be sounded, as if he could no longer endure the Fury of the Enemy, which the *English* perceiving, with Shouts and Acclamations of Joy pursued, as they thought, the flying *Normans*,

mans, who seeing their Design have its expected Event, by the Disorder of the Enemy, who out of Greediness of Pursuit had broken their Ranks, return'd to their Charge with new Fury, so that the *English* lost that Advantage by their ill Conduct which their Courage had given them before; immediately followed the intire Rout of the Army with a most terrible Carnage, near seventy thousand *English* being found dead in the Field of Battle, and among that Number *Harold* himself shot through the Head with an Arrow; whose Fall did not a little contribute to the speedier Victory of the Enemy, by inclining the English Soldiers to Flight and Despair.

The Death of this King by an Arrow, puts me in Mind of a Remark which I would not omit, That the *English*, before the *Norman* Conquest, were not acquainted with the Use of the Bow and Arrow among their Arms, though it seems to be a Weapon the most

most natural to Mankind ; for we find the most Savage Nations in all Parts of the World have, by meer Instinct, found out the Use of these Arms, tho' Strangers to the other more necessary Inventions for the Convenience of Life ; but being once instructed by the *Normans*, they grew so expert above other Nations, that to the Use of these Arms alone, in a great Measure, are owing their frequent Victories over the *French* in after Ages ; till the Invention of Guns made useless almost all other offensive Weapons.

The Body of *Harold*, by the Piety of the Conqueror, was delivered to the Tears and Intercession of his Mother, who buried him at *Waltham* in an Abbey of his own Foundation, where he securely slept for six hundred Years, till in the last Age his Tomb broke open by Curiosity or Sacrilege discovered the perfect Shape of a human Body, which upon the Touch fell into Dust.

But

But we have Examples of the same Nature in all Histories.

SECTION II.

WILLIAM, from this Time surnam-
ed the Conqueror, soon after the Bat-
tle marches to Lon-
don without any Opposition, the Clergy,
who as I observed before are the for-
wardest in Revolutions, making Use
of all their Power and Credit, which
was too great at this Time in perswa-
ding the People to submit to their new
Master.

The *Kentish* Men only more tena-
cious than the rest of the Nation, re-
solv'd to sacrifice their Lives to their
Liberties and Laws; against these Peo-
ple was the Conqueror forced to march
with his Army, in Order to a com-
pleat Reduction of the Kingdom, and a
firmer

former Establishment of his new Acquisitions ; but he had not entered far into this Province, when he was surprized to find so many armed Combatants ranged in Battle against him, who, the better to disguise their Numbers, carried each a green Bough in one Hand to cover his Body : This made an odd Appearance when they moved at a Distance, and so surprized the *Normans* with the Strangeness of the Sight, that they were the more easily induced to capitulate, and come to a Treaty, which at last was concluded by a Submission on the one Side, and a solemn Promise to preserve their Laws and Customs on the Part of the Victor. So that this Country, by the particular Bravery of her Inhabitants, defended herself from receiving those Marks of Servitude which were imposed on the rest of the *English* at the Will of the Conqueror : This gallant Action has made the Posterity of these People, in Imitation of their Ancestors, distin-

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guish themselves on several Occasions.

William thus intirely possessed of the Kingdom, easily repressed all the little Commotions which were raised with a Design to shake off the *Norman Yoke*; while that Part of the *Saxon Nobility* who would not submit to their new Master retired into *Scotland*, where being supported, they made several Inroads into the North of *England*, but without any Success, being always repelled by the *Normans*; at the same Time *Edgar Atheling*, the true *Saxon Heir* of the Crown, apprehending the Danger of a too good a Title, stole privately away with his Mother and two Sisters, designing to refuge the Ruins of the Royal Family of *England* in *Hungary*, where he was born, but driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Scotland*, he was received with all imaginable Honours by *Malcolme*, who married *Margarette* one of his Sisters, by whom he had several Children; the Great Grandson

Grandson of this Lady was afterwards Henry the Second of England, in whose Person was united the Saxon and Norman Blood, which gave that Prince a better Title to the Crown, at least to the Affections of the People, who had not yet forgot their old Race of Kings, than his Great Grandfather's Sword at the Battle of *Hastings*. As for *Edgar* himself, after having made several vain Efforts to recover his Right, he at last submitted to his own, and the Fate of his Country, upon which being allowed twenty Shillings *per Diem*, a Sum thought sufficient to support a Prince in that Age, he ever after lived a retired Life, in which he enjoy'd more true Content and Happiness, than what the vitiated Appetites of Mankind make them fancy, can only be found within the Circle of a Crown.

William thus secure forgets the Promises he had made at his Coronation, to maintain the Laws of *St. Edward*, instead of which he introduces those of

Normandy throughout his Dominions; so that ever since the Laws of *England* have been writ in the *Norman French*, as great a Solecism in Politicks as Religion, to expect People should obey what they do not know, and pray for what they do not understand; two unreasonable Customs supported by the Craft of Priests, and Chicanerie of Lawyers: It was perhaps the Design of the Conqueror, by this Introduction of his own Laws, to tempt the People to learn the *French* Tongue, and forget their own, so that all Tracts of their ancient Customs being lost and obliterated, they might no longer remember that they were once free, or reflect now that they had lost their Liberty; but notwithstanding all the Care and Pains that were taken to make the two People one, by a Harmony of Customs, Manners, and Language, yet so diametrically opposite all along has been the Temper and Genius of the two Nations, that barring our Laws, we have
no

no Tracts of a Conquest in our Language, those few *French* Words which we have at this Day in the *English* Tongue, having been made Denizens in later Ages, so that except some few Terms of Art with which the *English* were unacquainted, especially in Cookery, we calling the Flesh by the *French* Word for the living Creature, as Beaf, Mutton, Veal, Pork, we have very little of the *Norman* in the *English* Tongue, which cannot properly be called a Language, being a Sub-Dialect of the *Saxon*, which was itself only a Dialect of the ancient *Teutonic*; but in this last Age the *English* Tongue has been so refin'd and softened by a more general Conversation with our Southern Neighbours, and foreign Books, especially by leaving out the unnecessary Consonants, which has made it less Guttural, and consequently more Harmonious, as to be at this Day for Beauty, Strength, and Comprehension, not much inferior to the dead, and equal to most living

Languages; whereas if we look very far back we shall find the Language of our Ancestors as barbarous as their Manners.

But the Introduction of new Laws was not the only Badge of Slavery imposed by the Conqueror, who challenged to himself the whole Demeanor of the Kingdom as accruing by Right of Conquest; but notwithstanding this Pretence, we do not find that he dispossessed many of the *English* who were not in Arms against him, or afterwards opposed his Title by adhering to his Enemies; of his Justice and Goodness in this Point, there is a memorable Example in the Case of a *Saxon*, whose Lands being granted to one *Warren a Norman*, the injured Party appealed to the Conqueror, who, upon Proof that the *Saxon* had never borne Arms against him, immediately restored him to his Estate.

The *English* are not like to extend their Empire, or even preserve what they

they have already acquired, till they follow the Maxims of a greater, I will not say wiser People, than themselves, I mean the Romans, whose Lenity and Indulgence to their conquered Provinces secured their Acquisitions by rivetting the Affections of the People, who finding their own Interest the same with their Conqueror's, could have no Thoughts of freeing themselves from a Yoke, at the same Time both easy and profitable, till we observe these Maxims: *Foris justum Imperium, ---- in quo victis nihil præter Injuriam licentiam eripiebant.* We can never depend upon a Submission which is not founded upon the Affection of the Subject as well as Duty, unless we follow the *Spanish* Method of Extirpation, which that cruel Nation used in the Reduction of the *West Indies*, which for ought I know, would not be more Inhuman than the present Treatment of this poor People, it being an equal Cruelty to take away Life, or the necessary Support of it;

this Case of the *Irish* Nation is so particularly hard, that there is scarce an Instance of the like Nature; most of the Outlawries running for Treasons committed on the 13th Day of *February* 1688, which was the Day the then Prince and Princess of *Orange* accepted the Crown in the Banquetting House, the News of which could not be known on the other Side *St. George's* Channel that same Day, without Inspiration; but every Body knows at that Time, the Government of *Ireland* was intirely in the Possession of the late King *James* by his Lieutenant the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, who had an Army on Foot to have kept the People in Obedience, though they should have had never so great an Inclination to revolt; soon after the late King *James* went over in Person into that Kingdom, where he was without Dispute a King *de facto*, to whom our own Laws and Principles justify a Submission; upon which this unfortunate People were reduced to this Dilemma

lemma of being hang'd by one King or the other, let them chuse which Side they would; but what aggravates the Hardship of this Case in Respect of the Authors of this Oppression is, that those *Irish* who were the most forward to fling themselves into the *English* Protection, as soon as they had an Opportunity, have fared the worst, and lost their Estates only for submitting to civil Authority; whereas others who held out to the very last, and were the Occasion of shedding more Blood by a Prolongation of the War, are all indemnified by the Articles which they made with their Swords in their Hands; by which Example Posterity will be instructed to hope for more Safety, and better Quarter by a desperate Resistance, than an early Submission.

But to return to our Story: If the *Normans* had pretended to an universal Dispossession of the *English*, it is probable they might have been driven out again, notwithstanding their great Vi-
ctory.

Story in *Suffex*, and we have wanted at this Day that *Era* in our Chronology, which we begin at the Conquest; thus the Prudence of *William* made him cautious in imposing any Severities but what were absolutely necessary to retain a new conquered People in Obedience, but the Successors of this Prince grew more indulgent to the *English*, by whose Courage and Fidelity, though acquired Subjects, they always afterward bridled and restrained their Hereditary and Natural.

After the intire Submission of *England*, *William* the *Norman* found no great Troubles to disturb the rest of his Reign, only some few Commotions in the *North*, which were soon appeased, being the last convulsive Efforts of expiring Liberty, so that he quietly enjoy'd a Crown purchased with so much Blood and Danger, in Contradiction to the common Fate of Violence and Rapine; but the Rebellion of his Son in *Normandy* gave him some Trouble for a Time,

Time, however he vanquish at last all Misfortunes with his usual Felicity, and died in his own Country, his Death being occasioned by a Fall from his Horse, to the ill Effects of which the Weight and Bulk of his Body did not a little contribute: Nothing can more illustrate the Vanity of human Greatness than the last Catastrophe of this Prince, who after having conquered such an Extent of Ground could hardly find Earth enough to bury him; the Particulars of which Adventure I omit, as they being to be found in our common Chronicles; such contemptible Things are these Meteors of Majesty, after all the Bustle and Glare they make in the World, when they come to be levelled by Death with the rest of Mankind.

By Testament he left his Dukedom of *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, and his Kingdom of *England* to his Second, *William*, called *Rufus* from the
William Rufus,
1087.
Colour

Colour of his Hair, thinking himself
 at Liberty to dispose of his own Ac-
 quisitions as he pleased: But *Rufus* had
 not been long in Possession before he
 was disturbed by the Claim of Duke
Robert, who insisting upon his Right of
 Primogeniture, thought it very unrea-
 sonable that his younger Brother should
 be a King, while he must be contented
 with the Dutchy of *Normandy*: But
William Rufus pleading his Father's Will,
 would not easily resign so good a Title
 to the unarmed Remonstrances of Duke
Robert; but this Difference was soon
 compromised between the two Bro-
 thers, *Robert* resigning his Pretensions
 to the Crown of *England* for a Pension
 of 3000 Marks *per Annum*, so great
 was that Sum in this Age, or so incon-
 siderable the Value of that Crown,
 which in our Days has received no less
 than sixty Millions Sterling in the Space
 of 10 Years, which Sum, upon a just
 Discount for the different Value of Sil-
 ver in that Age and our own Times,
 would

would have astonished and frightened our Ancestors, who, as they were more tenacious of their just Rights than we, thought it the greatest Sign of Liberty to keep their Purfes shut, and preserve their Property.

This Agreement was not long in Force; *Robert*, either dissatisfied in Mind for the ill Bargain he had made, or else upon some new Disgust, calls the *French* King to his Assistance, and flies into open Hostility, by seizing several Towns in *Normandy* which he had mortgaged to his Brother *William* upon a designed Expedition into the Holy Land; upon Notice of which, *Rufus* immediately sails to *Normandy*, and with great Address corrupts the King of *France*, who left poor Duke *Robert* to shift for himself; *Robert*, thus reduced to this Necessity, was forced to submit to his Brother, who soon after returning into *England* ended his Days by an uncommon and deplorable Stroke of Destiny, being killed in the New Forrest by

by the accidental Glance of an Arrow from the Back of a Deery others say from a Tree; nor it is more certain who was the Person that shot the King by this unhappy Accident, the general Report made Sir *Walter Tyrrell*, his Bow-Bearer, the unfortunate Man; but some of his Contemporaries from his own Mouth have affirmed, that he was not in the Field that Day: The Death of *William* on this particular Spot seems to leave so bright a Tract of the divine Vengeance, that the most incredulous can hardly ascribe it to the common Results of Fortune, when we consider that not only *William*, but two more of the same Family, Sons and Grandsons to *William* the Conqueror, came to untimely and violent Ends in this unlucky Forrest, which the Impiety of that Prince had alienated from the Service of God, by destroying no less than 36 Parochial Churches, besides Religious Houses, to dedicate the sacred Ground to the Use of wild Beasts.

Rufus

Rufus thus dead, his younger Brother *Henry* immediately seiz'd both his Treasure and his Crown, his Brother *Robert's* Absence in the Holy War giving him a greater Opportunity to establish himself; thus that unfortunate Prince lost a real and hereditary Crown while he was seeking an imaginary one under the Walls of *Jerusalem*: This was without Dispute an Aggravation of the Injustice towards Duke *Robert*, who was to have succeeded to the Crown, according to the Stipulation between him and his Brother *William*; *Henry*, in answer to this, pleaded, that he was born the Son of a King, and Heir to a Crown, whereas his elder Brother being only Son to a Duke, could pretend to nothing but his Father's Dutchy: This was such another Contention as we find in the *Persian* Story, which Dispute being left to the Arbitration of an Uncle, was decided in Favour of *Xerxes*, the younger Brother, because
he

he was born Son to a King, and his elder Brother to a private Man before his Accession to the Throne; but what is more remarkable in that Story is, the quiet Submission of the baffled Party to this hard Decision, of which *Justine* says, *Nec Victor insultaverit, nec Victus doluerit.*

Henry thus possessed of the Crown, and conscious of wanting a good Title, thought it the most prudent Course he could take to establish himself in the Affections of the People, by easing them of all the Hardships they lay under by the Imposition of either his Father or Brother, the same Severity not being now so necessary as immediately after a Conquest; in Order to this Redress of Grievances, he abolished that severe Injunction of his Father's called, *Couvre-feu*, which obliged all the *English* at the Sound of a Bell to extinguish their Fire and Candle, and go to Bed, it being highly criminal for any Person to be seen Abroad after eight at Night; Moreover

moreover he gave Leave to his Nobility to built Castles, and hunt in his Forrests, which last Liberty was restrained with so much Severity by his Predecessors; besides several other Actions of Bounty, which shewed him a virtuous and good Prince.

From hence we may make this Reflection, That some Advantages accrue to the People, by the Want of a good Title in their Prince, who, conscious of this Defect, is more upon his Guard to disguise his vicious Inclinations, which though stronger in Usurpers than lawful Princes, are more commonly concealed by the Necessity of a greater Dissimulation, while a Sense of Danger makes them affect Popularity by obliging their People; whereas some of our most virtuous and lawful Princes, conscious of their Right, have sacrificed themselves to the Malice of the Times, by too obstinate an Assertion even of their just and legal Prerogatives.

Henry soon found the Advantage of this prudent Behaviour towards his People, whose Affections supported him in a Time of the greatest Danger; for it was not long before *Robert* made a Descent from *Normandy*, with a very considerable Force, to assert his Claim to the Crown; but finding his Brother *Henry* in a good Condition to receive him, he yielded at last to the Persuasion of those who interpos'd to prevent the Effusion of Blood; and such was the Easiness of this Prince's Temper, that he accepted at last his former Pension of 3000 Marks upon a Promise that he should succeed to the Crown on the Death of *Henry*, and so resigned his Pretensions; a greater Instance of his good Nature than his Wisdom: But it was not long before new Animosities arose between them, which being amicably compos'd, Duke *Robert* comes over to make a Visit to his Brother in *England*, where he was so charmed with his Reception, that in Return he frankly

ly

ly of his own Accord remitted the 3000 Marks *per Annum*, but soon after repenting this Generosity, complained that *Henry* had over-reach'd him; which coming to the King's Ears so enraged him, that he immediately fell into *Normandy* with an Army, and soon made himself Master of the whole Dutchy except *Roan*; after which Success he returns triumphant into *England*, followed by Duke *Robert*, who hoped to make him so far relent as to give him back the Dukedom, and content his Ambition with the Kingdom he had ravished from him; but so unaccountable is the Thirst of Power, that *Henry* not only rejected this reasonable Proposition, but could not find in his Heart to treat his Brother with common Respect; which ill Usage so exasperated this unfortunate Prince, that he immediately had Recourse to Arms, in Hopes of recovering his Patrimony: But such was the constant Fortune of *Henry*, that he soon vanquished *Robert* in a Battle, in

F 2 which

which ten thousand *Normans* were slain; and the Flower of that Nobility destroyed or taken by the *English*; who by a strange Circulation of Events won this Battle and annexed *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*, the same Day forty Years that the *Normans* won the Battle of *Hastings*, and annexed *England* to *Normandy*.

Among the Number of the Prisoners was unfortunate *Robert* himself, who being committed to a close Confinement, and endeavouring to make his Escape, had his Eyes most barbarously put out, as some Writers Report; which Cruelty could not so break his Heart, supported either by natural Courage, Christianity, or Philosophy, but that he was contented to survive twenty eight Years in Prison, and all that Time in a continual Night of Darkness and Horrour.

This Cruelty of *Henry* to his Brother, if true, is an indelible Mark of Infamy on his Memory, who except this
one

One Act of Barbarity was a very Great Man ; but it did not go long unpunished, so shallow is human Contrivance, for the only legitimate Son of this King, Prince *William*, was drowned, with his Sister and several others of Royal Blood, in their Passage between *Normandy* and *England*, the Hand of Heaven snatching away this Prince, for whose Sake this Cruelty was acted on his Uncle ; so that *Henry* had no lawful Male Issue to inherit his unjust Possessions purchased with so horrid a Cruelty ; his Daughter *Maud* married afterward to the Earl of *Anjou*, Father to *Henry* the Second, being his presumptive Heir.

The Loss of this only Son was a sensible Mortification to the Ambition of *Henry*, who never after perfectly enjoy'd himself, and at last died of a Surfeit on Lamprey ; in him ended the *Norman* Male Line, not extended beyond the second Generation, but extinct in the immediate Children of the

Conqueror, by which we may see how one Blast of Providence can in a Moment tear up by the Roots that Power, which the Violence of the Sword had been almost an Age in Planting.

But though this King had no more legitimate Issue, he had a great many natural Children, his Incontinence being the greatest of his personal Vices; and though the Example of the Prince often very much affects the Manners of the Subject, however in this Reign we find a very memorable Instance of Chastity in the Person of an Archbishop, who being advised by his Physicians to make use of a Woman as the only Means to cure an inveterate Distemper, replied, That the Remedy was worse than the Disease; and so died a Martyr to the most difficult of all moral Virtues: A wonderful Example indeed! but not so remarkable in the Old Man, as the Priest. We have a Prelate in our own Days, who undoubtedly would have ventured on this Experi-

Experiment on a less Temptation than that of Life, since he has not been able to content himself with less than three Wives of his own.

In this King's Time was first Instituted the High Court of Parliament, all Assemblies of State till now being managed by the King and Nobility, divided into Lords Spiritual and Temporal; but this third Order in Process of Time by a Revolution of Property, and assuming to themselves an arbitrary Power not warranted by the original Constitution, have in some Instances in the Time of the late Troubles, very much sunk and eclipsed the Authority and Lustre of the other two.

We have seen the short Continuance of the Empire founded by the Norman Conqueror, for after the Death of Henry the First, Stephen Earl of Boleyn ^{Stephen, Anno 1135.} stepped into the Throne, in Prejudice to the Right of Maud the Empress, Daughter to the last King: This Stephen was

Grandson to *William* the Conqueror by the Mother's Side, as *Maud* was Granddaughter by the Father, so that the Possession of the Crown for at least three Successions, *William*, *Henry*, and *Stephen*, was a continued Usurpation; this Frequency of irregular Successions has given Occasion to Men of ill Principles to justify the tumultuary Election of the People, and their own unwarrantable Actions, by the Example of past Ages, which is very ill Logick to found an Argument upon; for if this Maxim be allowed, Sacrilege, Murder, and Blasphemy, may as easily be defended by a Prescription of Time and Custom, as any irregular Violation in the Constitution of Government; because such Things have been done before, it is no Consequence that Posterity should follow the pernicious Example, especially when we consider that Usurpations, as they are founded on Injustice and Rapine, must necessarily be supported by the same Principles, and a greater Expence

Expence of Blood and Treasure, than would maintain the Necessities of the Government four times as long under a quiet and lawful Administration; a conspicuous Example of which Truth will be given in the following Reign of this *Stephen*, whose unjust Seizure of the Crown flung this Kingdom into terrible Convulsions for some Years, by engaging the Nation in a cruel and unnatural Civil War between these two Competitors *Maud* and *Stephen*, the ill Consequences of which might have been continued to Posterity, if the Care of Heaven by timely taking away *Eustace*, Son to the Usurper, had not confin'd his Ambition to the Term of his own Life: For *Stephen* thus Childless, could in Reason have no further Object of his Ambition, than to live quiet during his own Reign, and then suffer the Succession to return into the right Channel, nothing being more easy than to be just when we have no further Interest to be otherwise; this

Considera-

Consideration brought him at last to Terms of Agreement, after several bloody Battles with almost equal Vicissitude of good and bad Fortune: The Conditions of this Treaty were, that *Stephen* should quietly enjoy the Crown during his natural Life, and in the mean Time *Henry*, Son to *Maud*, should be declared presumptive Heir, and after *Stephen's* Death succeed. To this Agreement both Parties willingly consented, though some of the Nobility who had too firmly adhered to *Stephen's* Party, conscious of their own Guilt, and apprehensive of *Henry's* Resentment when he should come to the Throne, advis'd the King against the Succession of that Prince, preferring their own private Security to the publick Good and the Safety of Posterity; but this wicked Advice was prudently rejected by *Stephen*, who if he had been capable of following this Council, would have been the last of Mankind, and have made the blackest Figure in Story;

Story; it being impossible to conceive
 human Nature so totally deprav'd, as
 to be wicked meerly for Wickedness
 Sake, which he must have been, had
 he contrived a Prolongation of his own
 Injustice, of which he could reap no
 longer Benefit; this would have been
 a Desire to do Mischief after Death;
 and to make War upon Right and
 Equity in the Grave. This Stephen,
 barring the Guilt of Usurpation, was
 in other Respects a Prince of great
 Courage and Wisdom; as an Instance
 of the former Quality our Chronicles
 relate, that when defeated in a Battle
 against Maud, and his whole Army
 routed, and fled, he scorned to follow
 their Example, and though abandoned
 by all his Retinue, rode about the
 Field with his Sword in his Hand, da-
 ring and braving the Victor, who for
 a great while was afraid to approach
 him; the Words of Hoveden are, *Hor-*
rentibus inimicis ictuum ejus immanitatem.
 But at last overpowered by Numbers
 he

he was taken Prisoner, and very rigorously treated by *Maud*, who now had the Game in her Hands if she had known how to manage it, but elated with her good Fortune, through Insolence, and want of Address, she disgusted the *Londoners*, who revolting from her Party, turn'd the Scale, and restored the Fortunes of *Stephen*; so great a Weight in all Revolutions had the Faction of that powerful City, even at a Time that it was not by a Tenth Part so considerable as now.

But after the Agreement about the Succession, *Stephen* quietly enjoy'd the Crown too dearly purchased by so much Blood and Labour, and now he shew'd the World, that he was as capable of Governing his People in Time of Peace, as commanding his Armies in War; but as if Action were his only Element, he did not long survive to enjoy his Repose. Upon the Death of *Stephen* succeeded a *French* Family, who govern'd this Kingdom for several Ages with

with great Glory and Splendor; these following Kings being of a different Race, we will reserve the History of their Affairs for another Section.



SECTION III.



According to the Treaty with Stephen, as well as in due Order of Succession, Henry the 2d, Son to

Henry the 2d.
Anno 1154.

Maud the Empress, and Great Grandson to William the Conqueror, ascended the Throne; in this Prince center'd all the Pretences both Norman and Saxon to the Crown of England; the Father of Henry was Geofry of Anjou, who from a Sprig of Broom which he wore in his Bonnet, assumed the Surname of Plantagenet, so illustrious in the English Chronicles for a long Descent of gallant

lant Princes; *Henry* adorned with Ge-
 nerosity, Courage, and many other
 Virtues, might well be reckoned among
 our Great and Fortunate Princes, if
 the Undutifulness of his Children had
 not interrupted his Felicity; as for his
 Dispute afterwards with *Becket*, which
 gave him great Uneasiness, and disturb-
 ed the Peace of his Reign, yet nothing
 went so near his Heart as the Disobe-
 dience of those, from whom he might
 have expected nothing but Returns of
 Gratitude, Duty, and Affection; the
 wonderful Indulgence of this Prince
 toward his Children made their Crimes
 so much more black and unpardon-
 able: He was so fond of his eldest Son
Henry, that not content to leave him
 his Dominions after his Death, he
 would make him share both Power
 and Majesty during his own Life, for
 he crown'd him King, and made the
 Nobility swear Allegiance to him; how
 great a Weakness this was, Experience
 immediately convinced him, for when
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to honour the Solemnity of his Son's Coronation he would needs carry himself the first Dish to his Table, the insolent young Man told those who took Notice of the Honour his Father did him, that it was but fit the Son of a Duke should wait upon the Son of a King; a Saying equally brutal, insolent, and ungrateful; and to shew that he was in earnest, he soon after fell into open Rebellion, impatient of a Rival even in the Person who had both given him Majesty and Life; upon this, the better to support himself, he called the *French* King, his Father-in-law, to his Assistance, and inveigled his two younger Brothers, *Richard* and *John*, to be Partakers of his Guilt, in which as they bore a Part, so they also shared his Punishments; this Prince himself was cut off before the Flower of his Age; his Brother *Richard* came to a violent End at last, beside the Trouble and Chagrine of a long Imprisonment; and *John* after a miserable Life, which

which was a constant Series of Calamities, Vexations, and Misfortunes, ended his unhappy Days, as some say, by Poison; so severely was the Breach of Filial Duty revenged upon the immediate Persons of these three Princes, as well as their Posterity. The next Misfortune of *Henry* was the Misunderstanding between him and *Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who though in the main a good Man, was very much to blame to be so contumacious with his Prince; *Becket* fled into *France*, where he was supported both by the King and the Pope against *Henry*; at last being reconciled, and restored to his Archbishoprick, he was barbarously murdered at his own Altar by four Knights, who officiously thinking to please the King, though without his Command or Knowledge, perpetrated this execrable Murder, being neither deterred from so flagitious an Attempt by the Character of the Person, nor the Sanctity of the Place: But the Murderers

derers instead of meeting their expected Reward, in a few Years all miserably perished in Exile: The Archbishop was reputed a Martyr, and soon after canoniz'd at Rome by the Title of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

King Henry, in Recompence of his Sufferings, built him a magnificent Shrine, at which he offer'd his Crown, after having been soundly whipt by the whole Convent in his Passage to the Tomb.

Immense were the Riches which the Superstition of that Age devoted to this Shrine; for the Kings of *France*, as well as *England*, made frequent Pilgrimages to St. Thomas, whose Tomb they adorned with Gifts of an inestimable Value.

These Troubles about the Archbishop, with the frequent Rebellions of his Sons, and a Series of Misfortunes at the latter End of his Reign, sunk so deep into the Spirit of Henry, as to

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finish

finish his Life before the Course of Nature exacted.

Richard the 1st,
1189.

He was succeeded by his Son *Richard* the 1st, a magnificent, valiant, generous, and good-natured Prince, but a little too fierce and insolent; of this *Richard* they tell that unaccountable Story so frequent in the Histories of all Ages, That upon his Approach to his Father's Corpse, the dead Body immediately bled, which Spectacle so sensibly touch'd him, that he burst into a Torrent of Tears, to expiate his repeated Violations of Paternal Authority, a Crime so heinous, that the *Chinese* affirm it is not in the Power of Heaven to forgive.

Richard being settled on the Throne, apply'd his Thoughts wholly according to the Devotion of that Age, to his intended Expedition to the Holy Land; in Order to which he rais'd all the Money he could, by selling and mortgaging his Lands and Jewels, besides
the

the voluntary Contributions of his People; all which he consumed in a short Time in this unnecessary Expedition, besides 9000000*l.* which he found in his Father's Coffers, an incredible Sum for that Age: But though he expended so vast a Treasure, he acquired no less a Reputation to himself and Country by his glorious Actions against the *Saracens*, whom he vanquished in several Rencounters, engaging with the Great *Saladine* Hand to Hand, whom he overthrew both Horse and Man to the Ground, and planted the *English* Lions on the Walls of *Acon*; but what is a greater Accumulation of Glory in his Passage to the Holy Land, he not only revenged some Insults received from the *Sicilians*, but added a new Kingdom to his other Titles; for being affronted by a *Greek* Tyrant who had seized the Isle of *Cyprus*, he immediately debark'd his Troops and made himself Master of the Island, putting the Tyrant into Chains of Silver.

Afterwards in the Holy Land, falling into Dissention with *Leopold* of *Austria*, who resented his pulling down the Imperial Eagle and setting the Arms of *England* on the Walls of *Acon*, when they took that Town from the *Saracens*, he resolved to return Home, after having made the best Conditions he could with *Saladine*. This Insult so mortally disgusted *Leopold*, picqued already with Envy at the Glory and Reputation of *Richard*, that he afterwards took a severe Revenge, in detaining him Prisoner in his Return for *England*; for *Richard* in his Way Home, sailing with his Fleet up the *Adriatick* Gulph, landed in *Istria*, whence designing to pass Incognito by Land, he was discovered and perfidiously seiz'd, in Violation of the Laws of Hospitality, in the Territories of the Archduke of *Austria*, who basely delivered him into the Hands of his mortal Enemy the Emperor, by whom he was detained a Prisoner till 100000*l*. Ransom delivered him,

him, so vast a Sum for these Times, that the Church Plate of *England* was sold to raise the Money : After fifteen Months Imprisonment he returned Home, when he took a severe Revenge on his Brother *John*, by dispossessing him of all his Lands, for his turbulent Practices and ambitious Intrigues during his Absence : Afterwards besieging a Castle in *France*, (whither one of his Subjects, who had found a great Treasure and refused to give him a Share, was fled) he was shot from the Walls by a Cross-bow, of which Wound in four Days he died ; but the Place being immediately rendered, the Person who wounded him, brought into his Presence, was so far from repenting or making any Excuses, that on the contrary, he justify'd the Action, declaring, he did it in Revenge of his Father and two Brothers kill'd by *Richard* : The Fierceness and Insolence of this Declaration, deserved a severer Return than what he found from the Generosity

city and Goodness of this Great King, who not only releas'd him, but gave him a hundred Shillings, with a Command that Nobody should touch a Hair of his Head; but as soon as the Breath was out of the Body of *Richard*, his Friends thinking themselves obliged rather to follow the Dictates of Revenge, than obey the last Commands of their dying Prince, immediately seized the Wretch and dead him alive. Such was the End of this magnanimous *Richard* the Second, from his Greatness of Mind and Courage, surnamed *Cœur de Lyon*, who not content to be known at Home, as if *Europe* were to narrow a Theatre for his Glory, by his Courage and great Enterprizes extended the Reputation and Terrour of the *English* Arms to the remotest Parts of the East.

Upon the Death of *Richard*, his Brother *John*, 1199, defying the Right of his Nephew *Arthur*, Son to *Geoffrey* his elder Brother, leap'd in to the Throne; it being high Time now,

now, according to the Custom of *England*, to have another Usurpation, there having been already two lineal and lawful Successions; the Absence of the unfortunate *Arthur* gave an Opportunity to *John*, who was upon the Place, to possess himself of the Government, which he held by the same flagitious Means he acquired it, oppressing the Nobility, and invading the Liberties of the Church; which Enormities filled his Reign with a continued Series of Troubles and Confusions.

But the Crown was not so easily maintain'd as acquir'd, a great deal of Blood and Treasure must be first wasted, before there could be a firm Establishment of this unjust Possession; *Arthur* asserts his Right by Arms, flinging himself into the Protection of the *French King*, who by repeated Oaths and Protestations assures *Constance*, the Mother of *Arthur*, never to abandon the Interest of her Son, till he had restored him to his just Inheritance; but

we shall soon see the Effects of all these Rodomontades: *John* was no sooner arrived in *Normandy* to defend that Dutchy, but the *French King*, bribed by the Condescensions of *John*, who yielded him a great Part of his Transmarine Territories, basely violates his Promises and abandons the Interest of *Arthur*, whom he had so solemnly sworn to protect; by which we may see that Princes unguided by Principles of Honour, often sacrifice their Glory to their Interest, by committing Actions which would be infamous in private Men.

Upon this, *John* thinking he could not too dearly purchase a Security of his usurped Title, returns with great Satisfaction into *England*, where he did not find the same Temper in his People; the Nobility highly disgusted at the mean Spirit of their Prince, remonstrate to him the Prejudice and Injury which the whole Nation sustained in the Loss of so great a Part of his Dominions,

minions, beside the Dishonour of this infamous Treaty with *France*: But they deserved this Usage for supporting a wrong Title, it not being easy to conceive that an Usurper, who is only a Father-in-law, should look with the same Eye of Affection upon his Subjects as a lawful King, who is the natural Parent of his Country; the Truth of this Reflection is confirmed by frequent Examples of all Ages, by which we may see how often the Defect of a just Title is supported by the precarious Intruder, at the Expence not only of his own Honour, but the Safety, Interest, and Welfare of the People. This scandalous Treaty, and other Violations of the Subjects Rights, made this Prince so despicable, and hated, that the Nobility refused to follow him into *Normandy*, where *Arthur*, meeting with new Friends to support the Justice of his Cause, had renewed the War.

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At the same Time *Philip* of *France*, with the same perfidious Levity, breaks the Treaty between himself and King *John* by re-assisting Prince *Arthur*, in which Affair he seemed to be now in earnest, by giving *Arthur* one of his Daughters in Marriage, the Links of Interest being much stronger than the Obligations of Honour and Generosity.

At first *Arthur* carried all before him, possessing himself of several Towns in *Anjou* and *Tourain*, in one of which he took Prisoner *Eleanor*, his own Grandmother, and Mother to *John*, which Princess he treated with all imaginable Respect and Duty, more than she could expect at his Hands, after having so unjustly supported the Pretensions of her Son against the Right of her Grandson.

In the mean while *John*, with what Power he could raise, sails over into *Normandy*, where strengthening his Army with more Forces, he came so suddenly

denly on his Nephew *Arthur* as to defeat him in Battle and take him Prisoner, the Sword of Justice at this Time being too weak for that of Oppression.

Arthur thus unfortunately fallen into the Hands of his mortal Enemy, was committed to close Custody, after which he did not long Survive; whether or no he broke his Neck from the Walls of a Castle, where he was confined, in endeavouring to make his Escape, as was given out, or else was sacrificed to the Security of the Tyrant's Ambition, is uncertain; but the most general Opinion is, that he was made away, it being not at all strange that an Usurper, and so wicked a Man, who had no more Conscience than to deprive him of his Hereditary Right, should as little scruple to take away his Life as his Crown.

After this, thinking himself secure by the Death of his Rival, he meditates Revenge upon his undutiful Barons, whom

whom he oppresses with all manner of Violence, which compells them to take Arms and endeavour to reduce him to Reason; while *John*, to strengthen his Temporal Sword with the Authority of the Spiritual, sends to the Pope, and complains of his insolent Subjects: Upon which, the Pope finding some Interest in adhering to the King, unjustly sends him over an Absolution from all Covenants with his Subjects, whom he threatens with the Thunder of the Church for their Disobedience to their Prince: But it was not long before he fell out with the Pope himself, as well as his own Subjects, whom he now treats with the last Severity; having gathered an Army of *Poictouvins*, *Gascoines*, and other *French*, which made him so superiour in Strength, that the Barons were forced to fly for Refuge into *Scotland*, leaving their Castles to the Mercy of *John*, who raz'd them all to the Ground.

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The Nobility thus distress'd, had but one Recourse, which was to implore the Assistance of the *French King*, who, laying hold of this favourable Opportunity, sends over his Son *Lewis* with a powerful Army, whom the whole Nation, revolting from *John*, crown'd King at *London*: Here we cannot but take Notice of a vulgar Error in our common Chronicles, which falsely stile this *Lewis*, *Dolphin*; whereas in Truth, *Humbert Dolphin of Viennois* did not leave his Principality till the Time of our *Edward* the Third to the Crown of *France*.

This Revolution could not have been so easily compass'd, if the Pope had not been as violent against *John* as either *France* or his own Subjects; the Occasion of their Quarrel was a Dispute about the Election of an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in which Affair the King's obstinate Resistance of the Papal Authority drew on his Head the Censures of the Church, which Misfortune

fortune alone, in that Age of Spiritual Tyranny, was enough to crush any Temporal Prince, without a Concurrence of other Dangers.

This Chain of Misfortunes reduced this unhappy King to such an ill Condition, that he was forced to abscond for a considerable Time, in which, having arm'd some Vessels, he turn'd Pirate and lived by Plunder, treating alike both Strangers and his own Subjects, whom he pursued with an implacable Revenge, till being at last reconciled to the Pope, by a base Submission of holding his Crown as a Fief of the See of *Rome*, he was restored to his Regal Dignity by that haughty Prelate, but not till he had humbled himself, by depositing his *Regalia* at the Feet of his Legate *Pandolphus*, upon which he waited three Days before the insolent Priest thought fit to restore his Crown; upon this Submission was also recalled the Interdiction of the whole Kingdom, which had lasted six
Years,

Years, to the great Inconvenience and Detriment of the People.

The Pope having gratified his Vanity by this Humiliation of a Sovereign Prince, now takes him into his Protection, and commands the *French* to molest no more the King of *England*, who had so dutifully reconciled himself to the See of *Rome*; though not long before he had commissioned the *French* King to be the Minister of his Apostolical Vengeance, in executing his Bulls of Excommunication against *John*, who now began to retrieve his Fortunes and get Ground of his Enemies, his Subjects beginning to return to their Duty, when they saw him released from the Censures of the Church: And now he was in a fair Way of recovering his Crown, when an unexpected Accident put an End both to his Hopes and his Life; as he passed the Wafhes between *Norfolk* and *Lincolnshire*, a sudden Irruption of the Sea drowned Part of his Army, and destroy'd all his Baggage,

gage, Furniture, and Carriages, which Misfortune touch'd him so sensibly, that he soon after died with Grief; though some Writers have affirmed, that he was poison'd by a Monk of *Swinstead* Abbey; which Way soever he died, the Catastrophe was suitable to the rest of his Life, which was a constant Scene of Violence, Blood, and Calamities, the common Fruits of Tyranny and Usurpation.

Though no King of *England* has made a worse Figure in Story than this unhappy Prince, we ought not however to receive, with an implicit Faith, all that has been committed to Posterity concerning him; the Writers of these Times, being all Clergymen, were his mortal Enemies, and we do not find but that Order of Men, being as susceptible of Revenge as other People, scruple as little to invent any Stories for their own Advantage, or to blacken the Reputation of their Enemies; of this Nature, till we have better Authority,

rity, we will conclude the Story, that this King should send to a *Saracen* Prince in *Spain* to invite him to his Assistance, upon which Condition he would oblige himself to marry his Daughter, and turn *Mahometan*; besides this, there are several other Stories of the like Nature, which, if true, are convincing Proofs of his being abandoned to the last Impiety.

Upon the Death of *John*, his Son *Henry*, an Infant of nine Years old, was immediately proclaim'd King by that

Henry the 3d,
1226.

Party which adhered to his Father; this was no small Surprize to *Lewis*, who thought himself secured by the Death of his Rival King *John*, but not long after being defeated at the Battle of *Lincoln*, he was forced to capitulate, and upon the Receipt of 15000 Marks, immediately abjure all Pretence to the Crown of *England*, after which he returned into *France*; upon this the publick Tranquility was every where restored,

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stored, after so many Convulsions in
 the preceeding Reign; So that now ap-
 peared nothing but a Prospect of future
 Peace and Happiness, the People being
 universally united to their young King,
 not only by the Bonds of Duty, but
 Interest, notwithstanding their Affec-
 tions had been so alienated from his
 Father; the *English* not being arri-
 ved to that Heighth of Injustice, to
 think the Miscarriages of *John* ought to
 prejudice the Right and Innocence of
Henry. During the Minority of this
 King, Affairs were managed with great
 Prudence and Justice, under the Con-
 duct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had
 the Title of Protector; but as soon as
 the young *Henry* took the Reins into
 his own Hands, the Difference was vi-
 sible between the Maxims of Prudence
 and Justice, and the giddy Unstead-
 iness of a rash young Man carried
 away by every Passion; his first Mis-
 carriage was the Revocation of the For-
 rest Charters, and other Immunities
 granted

granted to his Subjects, on Pretence that they were extorted from him by the Necessities of his Minority; but that which most of all disgusted the Nobility was, the great Countenance and Favour which he shewed to Foreigners, by giving them *English* Titles and Estates; especially upon his making one *Walleran*, a *Dutchman*, Keeper of *Berkhamstead* Castle: This so enraged the Great Lords, that they immediately took Arms, which they declared they would not lay down till the King should remove the *Dutchman*, and restore the Castle to *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who had been displaced before; this peremptory Message startled the King, and obliged him to sacrifice his Affections to his own and the Interest of his People, so jealous were the *English* at this Time of any Partiality in their Prince towards those, whom the Wisdom of our Laws has not put upon the same Foot with Natives; but in this Point their dege-

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nerate Posterity have been much tamer than their brave Progenitors.

The King's Condescensions to the Request of his People, calmed these Commotions for the present, but they soon after broke out again, upon his resuming the same violent Courses; for now upon his Marriage with *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, with which Lady he had no Portion, no Manner of Interest, or great Alliance, there came over such Swarms of poor *Provincials*, as were very burdensome to the People, who out of their own Necessities must contribute to the Maintenance of these unnecessary Strangers; this obliged the Nobility to confederate again in Order to redress this Grievance, which was so intolerable, that one *Foulk de Brent* held at one Time no less than four Earldoms, *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Buckingham*, and *Bedford*.

But the King more stubborn now than before, instead of giving the Barons

rons Satisfaction upon their Remon-
 strances, sends over for more Strangers
 to support his Injustice, and outlaws
 the Lords for Disobedience and Contu-
 macy; these unwarrantable and arbi-
 trary Measures make the Defection
 more general, and increase the Strength
 of the Nobility, who at last reduce
 him to such Necessities, that he was
 forced to send supplicatory Letters to
 private and inconsiderable Men to bor-
 row contemptible Sums of Money, de-
 claring it was more Charity to relieve
 him, than a Beggar at the Door; to
 such Necessities are ill Princes reduced,
 whose unjustifiable Actions make them
 unworthy the Affections and Assistance
 of their People; for the whole Reign
 of this King was an intermittent
 Distemper in the Body Politick, occa-
 sion'd by Male-administration. This
 ill Conduct, through a Want of Ge-
 nius, made him so little in the Eyes
 of his People, that *Simon de Montfort*
 had the Impudence in a Dispute to give

him the Lie, in which Insolence he was protected by the Nobility then present from the King's just Resentment, who commanded he should be driven out of his Doors; such a Violation of Majesty, unknown to politer Ages, very much reflects on the Manners of this Time. The whole Reign of this Prince was filled with continual Broils between the Crown and the Nobility, who perhaps in some Cases might be as much to blame as the King, a Spirit of Faction making them as untractable and insolent in some Things, as the King was arbitrary and unreasonable in others.

But all these Troubles were at last appeased by his Confirmation of the Great Charter granted by his Father; this Solemnity was perform'd with the greatest Ceremony imaginable, the Infringers being curs'd by Bell, Book, and Candle: After this Assurance given to his People, he enjoy'd that Quiet in his Old Age which his Weakness
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and ill Conduct had deny'd to his Youth, dying at last in a Calm, who had lived all his Life in a Storm, after a Reign of fifty six Years; the longest of any Prince that ever sat on the Throne of *England*.

To which succeeded *Edward*, the first of that Name since the Conquest, Edward the 1st,
1272.

whose Genius, Courage, and other shining Qualities, received a greater Lustre from the contrary Imperfections in his Father and Predecessor: *Edward* was in the Holy Land at the Time of his Father's Death, the News of which he met in his Journey Homeward, being accompany'd by his charming and beloved Wife, Queen *Eleanor*, a Princess of extraordinary Virtues, and particularly renowned for the Greatest in a Wife, her Conjugal Piety, of which she gave a convincing Testimony, when *Edward*, wounded in *Palestine* by an invenom'd Knife, was despair'd of by his Physicians, she apply'd her Mouth to the

Orifice of the Wound and suck'd out the Poison, thus preserving the Life of her Lord with the imminent Hazard of her own.

Edward being arrived in Safety, after having signaliz'd his Courage and Prowess in a Tournament as he passed through *France*, by his good Government at first gave his Subjects all the promising Hopes of an auspicious Reign, for he redress'd all the Grievances of which they complain'd, and confirm'd the Privileges granted by his Predecessors, and had not the Stain of Cruelty towards his Enemies, the *Welsh* and *Scots*, defaced the Reputation of his other Virtues, he wanted no Quality to compleat the Heroe; but though this unmanly Passion seldom dwells in the same Breast with Courage, being commonly the Result of Fear, yet this Thirst of Revenge sprung from some other Motive in this Prince, than whom no Man was ever more intrepid.

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The first Occasion of drawing his Sword was against the *Welsh*, who endeavouring to free their Country from the *English* Tyranny, were revolted; in this War *Leoline* the last Prince of Royal *British* Blood was slain, and his Brother *David* taken and executed, after which both their Heads, in Derision crown'd with Ivy, were set on the Tower of *London*, too barbarous a Treatment of soverain Princes.

The Reduction of *Wales* was no sooner settled, but *Edward* was involved in a more troublesome Affair, a Quarrel, which not only lasted his whole Life, but sow'd such Seeds of Rancour and Animosity between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* as remain'd for several Generations, till a happy Period was put to this fatal Feud by an Union of the two Crowns in the Beginning of the last Century, a Blessing, which the Stupidity and Ingratitude of a certain Faction

tion has made both Nations not deserve.

The Death of the King of Scotland, at this Time without Issue, made a great Competition for the Crown; among the numerous Pretenders *Bruce* and *Baliol* stood the fairest, of whose Title *Edward*, by a pretended Superiority over that Kingdom, challeng'd the Decision; in Order to which he first offered the Crown to *Bruce*, who was look'd upon not to have the better Pretence, on Condition he would hold it from the Crown of *England*; but the gallant Prince rejecting the ignominious Offer, would not sacrifice to his own Ambition the Honour and Rights of his Country; by which Greatness of Spirit he deserved a Crown so much more, as he desired it less than his Competitor *Baliol*, who more greedy of the Bauble accepted the Conditions, and by the Power of *Edward* was placed on the Throne, doing Homage to the Donor according to the Agreement; this Conde-

Condescension in *Baliol* destroy'd him in the Esteem of his People, and on the other Hand rais'd their Veneration for the Virtues of his Rival.

But it was not long before he himself was disgusted at *Edward* for summoning him to appear, as a Delinquent, in his Courts of Justice, with which Order though he had no more Spirit but to comply, however this Indignity left such a Sting in his Mind as soon after burst into open Resentment upon his Return, the Consequences of which were an open Defiance of *Edward*, by a Renunciation of the Fealty sworn before; this Conduct of the *Scot* involved the two Nations in a bloody War, in which *Edward* successful overruns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and brings the mean spirited *Baliol* to fresh Terms of Submission; nevertheless he sent him Prisoner into *England*, and then returned himself, leaving *Scotland* in a perfect State of Subjection, under the Government of those whom he appointed

pointed to preside: Here we cannot but reflect how so poor and ill Peopled a Country as *Scotland* could so long resist the Riches, Numbers, and Force of *England*, which lying nearer to the Sun has all the Advantages of a more Southern Situation, Fertility of Soil, Plenty of Provisions, more Hands to fight, and more Money to pay them; after this Consideration we must ascribe the noble Defence which they have made in all Ages to the Courage and Bravery of the People, especially the Nobility and Gentry, who without Dispute have been a very gallant Race; till within a Century and half, the *Scotch* Nation imbibed that wretched Spirit of Enthusiasm, so destructive to all Principles of Honour, and incompatible with human Society, the horrid Doctrines of deposing and murdering Kings, which laid to the Charge of the Jesuits are even deny'd by that Order, being the avow'd Principles of some Cameronians.

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Here we shall soon see an Instance of this Bravery, and how great an Effort the Resolution of one gallant Man can make; this was the famous *William Wallace*, a private Gentleman, but of a good Family, who commiserating the deplorable Condition of his Country gathered together at first some few Persons, whom the like Ardour and Resolution, inspired by a love of Liberty, made Companions of his glorious Enterprize; with these few Troops the Heroe, like another *Gustavus Ericson*, sally'd from the Mountains and Fastnesses, and with a Fortune equal to that of the illustrious *Swede*, almost drove the Enemy out of his Country, by giving the *English* many notable Defeats, till *Edward* came himself with a new Army, but his old Fortune, which put a Stop to the Current of these Victories, and defeated the *Scots* at the Battle of *Fonkirk*, with a Slaughter of 40000 on their Side, as our Writers report; but we must not too easily give

Credit

Credit to Historians in this one Point; who through Partiality always extenuate the Advantages of their Enemies, and magnify their own, a Disingenuity as often found among the *Scotch* Historians as the *English*; but this Fault is more excusable in common Writers, who take their Accounts on Trust, because there is nothing in which the Incurious at first Sight are more apt to be deceived, than Numbers of Men, either living or dead.

The gallant *Wallace* himself escaped from this Rout, reserved, though not for so honourable, yet not an inglorious End, which can never be infamous when we die for our Country; for this poor Gentleman being afterwards taken Prisoner, was inhumanly sacrificed to the brutal Revenge of the Conqueror, being executed at *London* with all Marks of Ignominy and Cruelty, for no other Crime but the Assertion of that Liberty which the Laws of God and Nature have given Mankind

kind a Right to defend; nor had the Fury of *Edward* any more Deference for Royal Blood, the Brothers of *Robert Bruce*, who now had assum'd the Crown of *Scotland*, being taken in Battle, were with equal Barbarity put to Death, one of these Princes was a Priest, the Sanctity of whose Profession could no more defend him than the Nobility of his Blood; for so implacable was this Prince in his Revenge, that even the Complaisance which Nature has implanted in all Creatures towards the gentler Sex, could not make him have any Consideration for a Lady of great Quality, who only for assisting at *Bruce's* Coronation, was hung in a Wooden Cage over the Walls of *Berwick* for a Spectacle to the insolent Rabble; by such Cruelties as these did this Great Man eclipse that Glory which otherwise would have so shin'd in Story.

The Conquest of *Scotland* was so much on the Spirit of this Prince, that
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in his last Expedition into that Kingdom, he commanded his Son Prince *Edward*, in Case he should miscarry, never to desist till he had intirely subdued that obstinate People, and for a greater Terrour to his Enemies, as if his dead Dust could retain the Virtues of the living Conqueror, he gave Orders that his Body should not be bury'd, but always carried about with the Army till *Scotland* should by Conquest be annexed to the Crown of *England*, which might with Ease have been effected at this Time, if the young *Edward* had inherited the Courage and other great Qualities of his Father; but this was ordained by the Wisdom of Providence to be upon more sure and lasting Foundations.

According to his own Prefages King *Edward* died in this Expedition, leaving his Crown, but not his Spirit, to his Son *Edward* of *Carnarvan*, who proving a weak and effeminate Prince, thought
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it more agreeable to sacrifice the Flower of his Youth to his Ease and Pleasure than to the Obedience of his Father's Commands; but though this *Edward* the Second was voluptuous and ungovernable, in the Main he was a harmless good-natur'd Prince, unworthy the ill Treatment he found in the whole Course of his Life, especially the dismal Catastrophe at last.

But it has most commonly been the Fate of our *English* Kings to be, by alternate Succession, happy and unhappy, of which Vicissitude their own Vices or Virtues have not been the sole and immediate Causes, some having been happy who ought to have been unfortunate, and others unhappy who deserved to be the most fortunate of Mankind.

But we cannot find any Thing in the Life of this Prince to give him the Character of a Tyrant, or very ill Man; his Fondness of his Minions, which resulted from the Violence of his Pas-

sions and the Want of Dissimulation, were the only and undoubted Causes of his Ruin; but as this Inclination was center'd on one Object, it was certainly more supportable, tho' some Inconveniencies might attend if the brutal Nobility at this Time had shew'd the least Complaisance for the Satisfaction of their Prince.

When we consider all the Circumstances, we shall not find this Fondness of *Pierce Gaveston* so very culpable or void of Reason, when we reflect that the Father of this Gentleman had done the Crown of *England* particular Services in the Wars with *France*, in Recompence of which Merit, his Son was bred a Page to the Prince of *Wales*, equality of Age, of Dispositions and Tempers, a Resemblance of Manners, and a constant Habit of Life together, could not chuse but lay the Foundations of a lasting Friendship; to these must be added the personal Merits of *Gaveston*, who was qualify'd in every Respect to be

be the Favourite of a Prince, being one of the most handsome and best accomplish'd Gentlemen of *Europe* at this Time, a *Droit* in all his Exercises, of a winning and engaging Behaviour when he had a Mind to be civil, of a sprightly and enterprizing Genius, with a great and ready Wit, which did him no good being too often vented at the Expence of his Enemies; perfectly Brave in his Person, and Magnificent to a Fault in his Cloaths, Furniture, and Equipage; more Polite and Elegant in his Way of living than consist-ed with the Simplicity and Negligence of the Age and Country in which he lived; but withal, too fierce and insolent in his Temper, with all the Vanity of his Country, being by Birth a *Gasconne*; the Splendor of so many great Accomplishments could not fail to raise the Envy of the *English* Barons, especially when they saw themselves all worsted in a Tournament at *Wallingford*, by the Address and Courage of

Gaveston: This Disgrace made them confederate, in Order to his Removal not only from the King's Person but the Kingdom, to accomplish this Design they send to *Edward* an insolent Message to require the Performance of his Father's Will, who had banish'd *Gaveston* upon a Jealousy that he debauched the Manners of the Prince; but *Edward* now King, and at full Years of Discretion, having exceeded the Time that the Law of *England* supposes Men able to govern themselves, thought he had as much Power to keep whom he pleased about his Person, as his Father had to drive them away; however he thought to amuse them a little till his Coronation by keeping his Favourite in private, but at this Ceremony *Gaveston* appeared in his Meridian Lustre: This so enraged the Barons, that in the following Parliament they address the King again to remove his Favourite; with this unreasonable Violence *Edward* was forced to comply, however

to sweeten the Chagrine of this Separation, he sends him into *Ireland* with some kind of Authority ; here *Gaveston* behaved himself so well as to acquire an universal Reputation, for he repell'd the *Irish*, built Forts and Castles to secure the Conquests of the *Englisch*, and the Peace of the Country, with several Actions worthy a great and prudent Governor.

The Fame of these Exploits brought into *England*, made the King venture to recall him, in Hopes that this Rancour and Animosity in the Barons would be now cool'd by Time and Absence ; and in Order to disengage some Great Men from the other Party, by allying his Favourite to their Families, he marries him to the Daughter of the Earl of *Glocester*, the most popular Person in the Kingdom, with the Approbation of the Father and the Affections of the young Lady.

But though this Match had the expected Success in attaching the Earl to

the Interest of his Son-in-law, yet it ten times more exasperated the rest of the Lords, to see a Man whom they so mortally hated thus advanced to new Honours and Riches by so considerable an Accession to his Fortune; this made them remonstrate to the King with so much Fury and Violence, that he was oblig'd once more to comply with the banishment of a Person whom these brutal Persecutions made only the dearer: Here we cannot but reflect on the different Tempers and Notions of the same People in different Ages, we see this ancient Nobility so unreasonably stubborn as to violate the Duty they owed their Prince, and sacrifice the publick Tranquility to their own Resentments; whereas in succeeding Times we find the same Order of Men in the other Extream as supple and mean spirited, fawn on worthless Minions without the Merit and Pretensions of *Gaveston*, thinking it an Honour to wait at their Levies, and partake at

second

Second Hand the Lustre and Warmth which the Favourite derives from the Prince.

Gaveston after having been some Time Abroad returns into England to the Arms of his Master, who thinking to put him in a Place of Security, leaves him in *Scarborough Castle*; this was no sooner known but the Nobility invest the Place, and compel him to surrender on Conditions of Life and Safety; but not long after another Party taking him away, by a pretended Violence, from the Persons to whom he had surrender'd himself, without any legal Process, or further Ceremony, chop off his Head, notwithstanding that *Edward*, upon Notice of his being made a Prisoner, had sent a Message in his Behalf, so moving as to have made Impression on any Breasts susceptible of Pity, though from an inferior Suppliant, much more from their Prince, to whom they lay under the highest Obligations of Complaisance, Duty,

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and Obedience; but the surly Barons were inexorable.

This Indignity offered to the Authority of the King could not fail to fill him with all the Resentment such a Violence deserved, but the Necessity of his Affairs forced him to smother his Passion for the present; for at this Time the Scots, taking the Advantage of these Misunderstandings, not only recover their Country but invade the North of *England*; upon which *Edward* raises a very Puissant Army to repel the Enemy and carry the War to their own Doors, but thro' the Dissentions of the Great Men, and the ill Blood between the King and his Barons, the Success did not answer Expectation, the factious Nobility, not caring whither they were beaten themselves so the King did not conquer, suffer'd him to be defeated at the fatal Battle of *Bannocks Bourne*, which was the greatest Loss of Men and Honour that the *English* Nation ever sustain'd, the Scotch

Historians

Historians say fifty thousand, and our own acknowledge ten, between both we may proportion a Medium; the King himself escaped, and through the Necessity of his Affairs soon after was forced to make a Truce with the *Scots*: Upon this a Parliament was call'd, in which the Differences between the King and the Lords were happily adjusted, *Edward* giving his Charter of Pardon to all Delinquents, and the Barons renewing their Allegiance by new Oaths of Fidelity.

But it was not long before this Sunshine was over-cast by the restless Spirit of these Lords, who began now to be as much dissatisfy'd with the Favours which the King shew'd to the two *Spencers*, as before to *Gaveston*; the younger *Spencer* was a Gentleman of great Accomplishments both of Body and Mind, and was first placed about the King's Person by the Recommendation of the Lords themselves, for no other Reason, but because they knew
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he was not very agreeable to him; but in a little Time through his Address and Merit, he so insinuated himself into the Affection of his Master, as to be particularly distinguish'd, which made him a new Object of Envy; for now they renew their former Insolence, and peremptorily require to King to banish both Father and Son; the King, though justly provoked with the Insolence of this Demand, mildly sent them Word, *That it was unreasonable as well as unjust to punish Men unheard for Crimes of which they were not convicted; that the Father was Abroad already in publick Employments, and the Son at his Post in the Country, (being Warden of the Cinque Ports.)* This Answer from the King would not satisfy the seditious Nobility, who come armed to London and renew their Demands. With this Violence through Inability to help himself was Edward forc'd to comply, and by Edict banish the *Spencers*, whose only

ly Crime was the Favour and Bounty
of their Master.

But not long after this Edict of Banishment was annull'd by a solemn Council of the Bishops and the more temperate Nobility, as being illegal and unjust; upon which the Exiles returning Home, the Lords immediately flew to Arms; this obliged the King to raise Forces and assert his Right, it seeming absolutely necessary now to vindicate his violated Majesty from these repeated Indignities; the Success of his Arms was answerable to the Justice of his Cause, he defeats his rebellious Barons, and takes the Ringleaders Prisoners, of whom the Earl of *Lancaster* his near Kinsman was Chief, who shortly with several others was justly executed; this was the first Noble Blood drawn by the Hands of the Hangman since the *Norman* Conquest, but the reiterated Revolts of these contumacious Lords, whom no former Mercies could reclaim, seem to justify the Necessity
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of this Precedent: The *English* after this having once found the Way, follow'd this Example with too great Severity, there being more Noble Blood shed upon the Scaffold in a few following Reigns in *England* alone, than all the Christian World beside; in this one Point, though we want a great many of their Virtues, we are not quite so cruel as our Ancestors.

After this Success, one would have thought that *Edward* might have promis'd himself Rest and Security; when by a certain Fatality almost inseparable from the Number of his Title, he was born to be unfortunate; it being observable, that most of our *English* Kings since the Conquest, who have been the Second of their Name, have been either depos'd, murder'd, or at least afflicted with great Calamities by the Hands of those who were the most obliged by the Bonds of Nature, the Ties of Blood, Honour, Conscience, and Gratitude, not only to have done them

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no Injury, but to have defended with the Hazard of their own, those Lives and Crowns they took away : This was the Case of unfortunate *Edward*, who was not destin'd to be ruin'd by the Faction of his turbulent Nobility, but by nearer and domestick Enemies ; his Queen *Isabel*, who was Sister to the *French King*, either through some Disgust she had conceiv'd against *Edward*, or as others say sent by him, goes with her young Son Prince *Edward* into *France*, where living in the Court of her Brother she openly shew'd her ill Intentions to her Husband, her Affections being alienated by the exceeding Passion she had entertain'd for the Person of *Mortimer*, a very handsome young Nobleman who now was fled over to her, whom, besides several other discontented Persons, she publickly countenances, making herself the Head of the Malecontents ; these surprising Measures of the Queen could not but astonish the King, who com-

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mands her immediately to return, and upon Refusal, proclaims her an Enemy to the State. This undutiful Behaviour of a Wife towards her Husband must certainly be a greater Aggravation to the Misfortunes of Edward, than the Disobedience of others who were not under such immediate Obligations of Respect and Duty; nothing penetrating so deep as ill Returns from those, at whose Hands we are conscious to have deserved better.

This infamous Character of a Queen will serve for a Foil to illustrate the contrary Virtues of a great Princess under the same Obligations and Circumstances of Life, who was so far from contributing to the Misfortunes of the King her Husband, that if his good Genius had inspired him to have follow'd the safer Councils which she gave, his Afflictions in human Probability might have been prevented; nor has she shew'd less the Lustre of her Virtues in Exile than Majesty when on
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the Throne, it being hard to decide which Part she has best perform'd, the Queen, or the Wife, but what Fate soever shall attend her Pretensions to her Dower, she will leave to Posterity an inimitable Example of Conjugal Piety, and all other Virtues, that have so justly made her the Honour and Ornament of her Sex.

To return to our Story; *Isabel* seeing that the King her Brother, who had found her Complaints and Pretences frivolous, would no longer support so infamous a Cause, as that of a Wife, Son, and Subject, against a Husband, King, and Father, retires with the young Prince into the Territories of the Earl of *Hainault*, to whose Daughter *Philippa* she contracted him in Marriage, upon which she was assisted by that Prince with 2000 Men, to protect her against the Power of the Favourites, who as she pretended had alienated the King's Affections from her; but we shall soon see what Use she

she will make of these Troops, for she was no sooner landed but she immediately erects her Standard and summons the factious Nobility to her Assistance, who flocking to her Ensigns made her Army so considerable, that the King was forced to retreat, seeing the Inclinations of the *Londoners*, who are seldom of the right Side, devoted to his Enemies; but notwithstanding the Universality of the Defection, Persons of greatest Probity and Virtue adher'd to the King, but their Numbers were too inconsiderable to oppose the Torrent of the Times, among these was *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter*, who falling into the Hands of the *Londoners*, though renown'd for his Piety and other Virtues, was murdered by the Fury of the Rabble for his Fidelity to his Prince.

Edward thus pursu'd by the Storm, thought to save himself in the Isle of *Lundee*, depending upon the natural Strength of so inaccessible a Place, but driven

driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Glamorganshire*, he took Sanctuary in *Neath* Abbey, where being discovered, he was made a Prisoner; it not being at all strange, that this Queen should be no more tender of his Liberty than his Honour, which she had violated, as well as her own, by a criminal Conversation with *Mortimer*.

With the King was taken the younger *Spencer*, and immediately hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; his Father, an Old Man, made venerable by more than 90 Years, underwent the same Fate before, with this Aggravation of the Cruelty, that his Heart was torn from his Bosom while alive, as a Sacrifice to the Rage of this implacable Woman. Thus ended the unfortunate Reign of *Edward* the Second, being soon after depos'd by a Convention of the States, but not till he had first made a solemn and formal Resignation of his Crown to his Son the Prince, so necessary was this Act of the King's

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Thought

Thought at this wicked Juncture, to give a Sanction in disposing the Crown of England.

Edward having stipulated upon his Renunciation, for Liberty and the Conveniences of Life, was nevertheless detain'd a Prisoner, and treated with all manner of Hardships and Indignities, in Hopes that the Inconveniences he suffer'd, or the Resentment of them, would put an End to his unfortunate Days; but when they found the Greatness of his Spirit, or the Goodness of his Constitution, made all their Attempts unsuccessful, they proceeded to the last Experiment; for having dismiss'd his first Keepers, who were not staunch enough to obey all their Orders, they committed his Person to the Custody of two execrable Rogues, who murdered this poor Prince with most exquisite Tortures, by running a red hot Iron into his Body thro' the Passages of Nature, least any external Marks of Violence should appear.

Such

Such was the Catastrophe of *Edward*, who as I have observed before, could not deserve so harsh an Usage from the Hands of his Subjects, whose Liberties he never subverted; so that his only Crime was, being too susceptible of a Passion, which as it can only grow in noble and generous Natures, so the least of it is to be found in the Country where he had the Misfortune to be a King.

We shall now come to a Reign of greater Lustre and Glory, in which the *English* Nation made a very considerable Figure in the World, under the auspicious Government of the fortunate Successor to unhappy *Edward*, the shining Qualities of this illustrious Prince make him seem worthy of a more just Initiation into the Government, than what was founded on the Deposition, and cemented with the Blood of his Father; but though he had no actual Share of Guilt as to the last, yet

Edward the 3d,
1327.

the Measures he took before are so unjustifiable as not to be excused by the Tendernefs of his Age; *Froysart* affirms him to be eighteen at that Time, but our own Historians make him somewhat younger; however, the least Age intitles him to a Distinction of Good and Evil: To wipe off this Stain he punish'd afterwards the Authors of his Father's Death, for he not only disfeized the Queen his Mother of her Jointure, but confin'd her for Life; her Gallant *Mortimer* dragg'd out of her Arms, was hang'd at the publick Place of Execution; but we do not find any particular Punishment inflicted on the infamous Bishop of *Hereford*, who was the chiefest Contriver of the King's Death, as well as the greatest Manager of the late Revolution, an insolent, factious, scandalous, turbulent Priest, such another as we have known in our own Days, though not an *Englishman*, but of a neighbouring Country, which has only

only added a little more Infincerity to his other ill Qualities,

The first Attempts were not the most auspicious of this Reign, for the *Scots* encompass'd by the *English* Army, when in human Probability they could not escape, by the Treachery of *Mortimer* were freed from this Danger, for which Service he received a great Sum of Money, as was proved among his other Crimes afterward at his Arraignment; thus the divine Vengeance overtook this Wretch before he could enjoy the Fruits of his Villany, in raising the Rebellion against *Edward*, and compassing that impious Revolution: The Death of *Mortimer* was an Act of Justice, but there was another Execution which will very much prejudice the good Opinion of this young King; his Uncle *Edmond* Earl of *Kent*, a Prince of great Virtue and Reputation, for only shewing some Sentiments of Tendernefs and Humanity towards his dethron'd Brother, was condemn'd

to loose his Head, even after the Death of *Edward* the Second, when there could be no Danger or the least Apprehension; in Order to this Execution, this Prince stood six Hours on the Scaffold, till almost Night, before any one could be found to perform the ungrateful Office, till at last a condemn'd Malefactor, to save his own forfeited Life, was perswaded with much Difficulty to take away another's; a wonderful Instance of Affection in the People, who held his Memory so dear, that they reputed him a Saint after his Death.

About this Time happen'd an Accident which laid the Foundation of all *Edward's* Glory, by giving him an Occasion to carry his Arms into *France*, where his great and signal Victories have given eternal Lustre to his Name, and Honour to his Country.

The *French* King, *Charles* the Fair, dying without Issue, except a Daughter, there were two Competitors *Philip* of *Valois* and *Edward* of *England*; *Edward*,

ward, Nephew to the deceas'd King by his Mother, had the nearer Title, but excluded by the *Salique* Law, which preferr'd *Philip* being of the Male Line, though remoter; however, *Edward* after some Dispute permitted his Rival quietly to ascend the Throne, and soon after, being summon'd, went over, and with great Solemnity did Homage to the new King of *France* for the Territories held of that Crown; this Acknowledgment of the other's Right seems to prejudice very much any future Pretensions of his own; however, *Edward* dissembled for the present the Picque which he conceiv'd for this forc'd Submission, till a fitter Opportunity of Resentment, which was not very long wanting; for as nothing is more easy than to find an Occasion of quarrelling, so a plausible Pretence soon offer'd itself to *Edward*; the Death of some *Britons* executed in *France* for a Correspondence with the *English*, was laid hold of by the King of *England*, to break the Peace and make War on *France*. But

But first, we must look back on the Affairs of *Scotland*, with which Kingdom *Edward* had been engag'd by Intervals ever since his Accession to the Throne, the Disorders in that Country occasion'd by the Pretences of *Edward Baliol*, who had renew'd the Claim of his Family to that Crown, gave an Opportunity to *Edward* of intermeddling in their Affairs; in the Beginning of the War he had besieg'd *Berwick*, at which Time the Writers of the *Scotch* History fix an indelible Mark of Infamy on the Memory of this Prince, by affirming, that the Town being reduced to an Extremity, the gallant *Seaton*, who was Governor, beat a Parley, in which it was agreed that the Town, if not succoured by the *Scots* in fifteen Days, should be deliver'd to the *English* at the Expiration of that Time, for Security of the Performance a young Gentleman, Son to the Governor, was given in Hostage; before the Day prefix'd, the *Scotch* Army

my appear'd in Sight, which gave Courage to the Defendants, and mortify'd the Besiegers: Upon this *Edward* sent Word to the Governor, that if he did not immediately surrender the Place he would not only hang the Hostage, but also another of his Sons who was a Prisoner of War in the *English* Camp, accordingly he order'd a Gibbet to be erected in Sight of the Walls; Sir *Alexander Seaton* surpriz'd with the Barbarity of this Message, sent to expostulate the Matter, by telling him that the Time agreed for the Surrender of the Town was not yet expired by so many Days; but nothing would satisfy *Edward*, but an immediate Surrender: While the Governor thus embarrass'd found a terrible Conflict in his Mind, between the natural Affection to his Children, and the Duty he ow'd to his Prince and Country, his Wife the Lady *Seaton*, a Woman worthy the Veneration of all Ages, came to him and remonstrated, that she was young enough

enough to bring him more Children, but not another *Berwick*, and that it was an indispensable Duty in every one to devote his private Interest to that of the Publick; the Governor thus fortify'd by the Resolution of his Wife, sacrificed the Affections of a Parent to the Duty of a good Subject, and so had the Mortification to see his innocent Children put to Death, a Piece of Barbarity, if true, that all the other great Actions of *Edward* can never deface; the *Scotch* Historians so universally assert the Truth of this Story, that we cannot positively affirm the contrary; but since our own Writers have not thought fit to mention a Passage so destructive to the Honour of this great King, I will leave it doubtful to the Reader, though we shall find in the subsequent Part of this Reign other Examples of Cruelty, which Vice this Prince seems rather to have derived from his Grandfather *Edward* the First than his Father.

From

From hence we must remove to a nobler Scene, the War with *France*, in which the glorious Success of the *English* Arms seem'd to lay the Foundations of a mighty Empire, if our Prudence and Conduct had been equal to our Courage, but like *Annibal* we know better how to acquire the Victory than to preserve the Conquest.

The most memorable Battle fought in this War was that of *Crecy*, the *French* Army was double in Number to the *English*, and commanded by their own King in Person, attended by the greatest Captains of that Age, among whom were several Soverain Princes who that Day fought under the Banners of *France*, to which must be added the vast Number of Nobility who compos'd the *French* Cavalry, to the Goodness of which Body the *French* Monarchy seems not only to owe her Rise, but the Establishment of her present Greatness; besides, they were at Home in their own Country, furnish'd with
all

all manner of Necessaries, the Want of which very much straighten'd the Enemy; these extraordinary Advantages gave the *French* that fatal Assurance, which contributed so much to the Loss of this Day: Their own Historians ascribe the Miscarriage to the Rashness and ungovernable Temper of *Charles* Count of *Alançon*, Brother to King *Philip*, who just as the Armies were ready to engage, by changing the Order of Battle, and removing the *Genoese* from the Front to the Rear, in Contempt of that Nation, made so great a Confusion in the Army, as gave the *English* an Opportunity to break Men already disorder'd with greater Facility; however it was, whether Fate, or ill Conduct, there never was a more memorable Victory obtain'd by the *English* Nation, who seldom had a greater Occasion to exert their Courage than at this Time, being charg'd with so much Fury by the *French* Cavalry: The Writers of this Action tell a Story of King
Edward

Edward in this Battle, which is rather an unaccountable Instance of Rashness than true Conduct, That Word being brought him by an *Aid de Camp* that the Black Prince his Son, who commanded one Wing of the Army, was overpowered by the Number of the Enemy, and in Danger of perishing if not timely relieved, the King, having first demanded whether his Son was alive or no, bid the Person go back and tell him, he must owe his Safety to his own Courage, and expect no Succour from him, for he design'd the Honour of the Day should be his; an odd Piece of Policy, which even Success could not justify, inconsistent with the Tenderness of a Father and the Prudence of a Great General, for Experience shew us, how many great Advantages have been lost, and even the Fortune of the Day turn'd, for Want of a timely Support where it was necessary.

In this Battle was destroyed the Flower of the *French Nobility*, among which

which Number was the Count of *Alanson* himself, whose Rashness was so fatal to the Honour and Interest of his Country; *Philip* himself had his Horse slain under him, upon which retiring from the Fight, he discourag'd his own Men, and contributed to the speedier Victory of the Enemy.

Thus was this great Day at *Crecy*, so famous in our *English* Chronicles, obtain'd by the Arms of the Black Prince, under the Command of his Father King *Edward*, who would have been immortal in Story, if he had no other Recommendation to Fame than the Honour of begetting so Great a Son, who possess'd all his Virtues without any Mixture of his Vices, his Greatness of Mind without Ambition, his Courage without Rashness, his Justice without Cruelty, his Resentment without Revenge, his Discipline without Rigour, and his Authority without his Fierceness; to all which Great Qualities must be added a wonderful Affability and

and Sweetness of Temper, which engaged the Affections of Mankind, and made the untimely Loss of this incomparable Prince, who died before his Father, so much more deplorable.

About this Time, for a greater Accumulation of Glory, as if there were no Difficulty which the Genius of the *English* Nation could not surmount, Queen *Philippa*, who was left in *England*, not only defeated a vast Army of *Scots*, who in Defence of their ancient Ally the *French* had invaded *England*, but took *David* their King Prisoner, whom she brought to *London*, and afterwards went triumphant to the Siege of *Calais*, where *Edward* had lain for eleven Months without carrying the Place, which being reduced at last to the Necessity of a Capitulation, could obtain no better Terms from the inexorable Conqueror, than that six of the chief Burghers should be sent with Hal-
ters about their Necks and lie at his Mercy: The poor Defendants, con-
scious

scious of no Crime but their Fidelity to their King and Country, were much startled at so cruel a Demand, every one apprehending his own Destiny, till one braver than the rest, voluntarily offer'd himself a Victim to the Safety of his Fellow-Citizens; this noble Example chang'd the Passion of Fear into a generous Emulation who should be the first to die for his Country; at length the Number being compleated, they were presented before the stern *Edward*, who immediately gave Order they should be all strangled, till *Queen Philippa* falling on her Knees, made use of that Power she had over the Spirit of her Husband to obtain their Pardon: Thus the Charity and Goodness of the Queen amply made amends, for the Inhumanity of the King.

Calais thus reduced under the Subjection of the Crown of *England*, remain'd a Part of our Dominions for two hundred Years, till irrecoverably lost in the Reign of *Queen Mary*.

About

About this Time by the Mediation of the Pope and other Princes a Peade was propos'd between the two Crowns, to this both Sides were inclin'd tho' neither would seem forward, till at last thro' a mutual Weariness of the War a Truce was made; the *French* being glad to take Breath after so long a Run of ill Fortune, and the *English* quietly to enjoy the Fruits of their Victories: But notwithstanding there was an outward Appearance of Peace, Hostilities were often renew'd by mutual Surprizals of one another's Towns; in one of these Adventures King *Edward*, by his Address, intercepted the *French* in a Design they had form'd upon *Calais*, in this Action fighting Incognito in the Habit of a private Trooper, he was twice beaten down by a *French* Cavalier, whom nevertheless at last he took Prisoner, by this happy Temerity acquiring more the Reputation of personal Courage than Prudence.

L Soon

Soon after the King of *France* dying left his Kingdoms and ill Fortune to his Son *John*, who pursuing the War had driven the Prince of *Wales* into such a Strait near *Poictiers*, that nothing but almost a Miracle could save him; the Prince sensible of his ill Circumstances, offered every thing he could in Honour to the Enemy, who elated with Assurance of Victory would hearken to no Proposals, but required an absolute Surrender to Mercy, by laying down his Arms; this insolent Demand added Indignation to the Courage of the Prince, who now prepared every thing for his Defence against a Power that exceeded him six Times in Number, the *English* Army consisting most of Foot, had the Advantage of Vineyards and other Inclosures to secure them against the Enemies Horse, in which the Strength of the *French* consisted; here is another Instance of the Fatality in being too secure, for the *French*, despising the Number of the Enemy, were

were so sure of Victory, that they scorn'd to make Use of their Foot, but resolved to trample down the *English* with their Cavalry, who were so incommoded and entangled in the Vineyards and hedges, that they could neither advance nor retire, and thus useless, were expos'd to the Shot of the *English* Archers; this occasion'd the Defeat of their Army, follow'd by a most terrible Slaughter, in which the Number of the Slain were prodigious, at this we may guess by the Proportion of the Gentry and Nobility which the *French* themselves own to have fallen in this Battle, amounting to two thousand; but at the same Time we must consider, that the *French* Armies in all Times have been more filled with Officers, and Persons of Rank, than those of any other Nation whatsoever; besides it is remarkable, that the *French* Nobility, who in all Ages have been a very gallant Race of People, whenever beaten, have nevertheless shew'd great

Marks of their personal Bravery by generally dying on the Spot where they could not vanquish, thinking the Loss of Life inconsiderable after that of Victory.

In the Number of Prisoners was King *John* himself, whose Captivity compleated the Glory of this Day, made more illustrious in Story by the Generosity and great Honours which the gallant Conqueror shew'd to his Royal Prisoner, whom he treated in his Chains with the same profound Respect as if he had been paying him Homage on the Throne of *France*; these are the shining Qualities that compleat the Heroe, it being less difficult to obtain a Victory, than not to be elated with the Success; ill Men are often prosperous, but it is only the Wise, the Brave, and Good, know how to make a right Use of good Fortune.

The *French* King soon after being brought a Prisoner to *London*, added another Crown'd Head to the Triumphs

umphs of the *English*, and kept in Countenance the unfortunate *David*, by shewing him a greater Prince in the same Condition.

Not long after happen'd an Accident, which shew'd that this illustrious Prince of *Wales* was destin'd to give Crowns as well as take them away; *Don Pedro* of *Castile* expell'd his Kingdom for his horrid Cruelties, made Application to him as he lay in his Winter Quarters at *Bourdeaux*, upon which the generous *Edward*, according to the nicer Notions of those Times, considering the Character, and not the Man, thought himself obliged in Honour to assert the common Cause of Crown'd Heads, in discountenancing such a Violation of Majesty, even in the Deposition of a Tyrant; soon after *Don Pedro* was restored to his Throne by the Arms of *Edward*, which great Service the brutal Prince requited with the last Ingratitude, upon which being justly abandon'd to his own ill Stars, he was pur-

sued by the Vengeance of his Subjects and expell'd again; but as if the very Air and Climate of this Country would punish the Prince for abetting the Cause of such a Monster, he here first contracted those Distempers which afterwards proved so fatal.

The Truce which was made between *France* and *England* began now to be broke, upon a Disagreement about the Ransom of the *French* King, his Son the Dauphin and the Nobility of *France* thinking the Concessions extorted by the Necessities of a Prisoner too unreasonable to be ratify'd; upon this King *Edward* crosses the Seas in Order to renew the War, but terrify'd by a prodigious Thunder and Lightning he began to hearken to an Accommodation, which the Pope and all Christendom had in vain solicited before, so much was his Superstition stronger than his Piety or Tenderneſs of Blood.

Not long after this died the excellent Prince of *Wales*, and with him the
good

good Genius of *England*, for afterwards our Affairs began to decline; *Edward* himself advanc'd into Years fell into all the Weaknesses of Old Age, by which he lost the Reputation of that Severity he had acquired in his younger Days, for he now abandoned himself to the Caresses of a scandalous Woman call'd, *Alice Pierce*, who had so great an Ascendant over the Spirit of this Prince, that he resign'd not only himself, but even the Conduct of his Kingdom to the Management of an infamous Strumpet, who had the Impudence not only to place herself in the Courts of Justice, but to influence all Matters of State, into such a Lethargy fell King and Kingdom, after having been so vigorous a Scene of Action for so many Years before; and now it was high Time for *Edward* to leave a World in which he could no longer live with Reputation, but he was first plunder'd by his Mistress of his Rings, Jewels, and all Things of Value about his Person,

which was now abandon'd even by all his Domesticks, who after the Example of the Lady, had first plunder'd and then retired, by which Instance Princes may see how little they are follow'd for their own Sakes, but only to gratify the Avarice and Ambition of their worthless Attendants.

This was a long and glorious Reign, but grievous and oppressive to the People by the excessive Taxes, which were necessary to support the constant Wars with *France* and *Scotland*.

To *Edward* the Third succeeded his Grandson *Richard* the Second, who, as I observ'd of his Great-Grandfather, was unfortunate by alternate Succession, notwithstanding he came with great Advantages to the Throne, being dearer to the People for the sake of his Father the black Prince, whose Memory they so much adored; besides all which, the Beauty of his Person, and all the Signs of a towardly Disposition, recom-

recommended him to the Esteem and Affections of his Subjects: But notwithstanding these auspicious Presages, we shall find an unhappy Reign, with all the Disasters so common to the Brave but Unfortunate Race of *Plantagenett*; but when we consider that the most virtuous Princes of another Family have been equally ill treated by their seditious Subjects, we cannot ascribe the Misfortunes of these *English* Kings to any Fatality, or malevolent Aspect, but to the constant mutinous Temper of a turbulent Nobility, who had too much Power and too little Principle to be good Subjects; however we cannot justify the Proceedings of this Prince, whose Measures were too arbitrary and unwarrantable thro' the whole Course of his Reign, enough to discontent his People, but not to excuse their Conduct to him at last, for we may observe, that the Consequences which attend the violent and illegal Proceedings of the People, when they pretend

pretend to do themselves Justice on their Kings, are always more fatal than the Grievances they think to redress; the Truth of this Assertion will be demonstrated in the Deposition of this King, surnam'd from *Bourdeaux*, the Place of his Nativity, the Beginning of whose Reign was attended with the Inconveniences so frequent in the Minority of Princes.

At first he was committed to the Tutelage of his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Cambridge*, for fear of whose Ambition some others were joined in Commission, but this Plurality of Governors was soon found inconvenient, thro' their mutual Competition for Power and Preheminence, upon which the Protectorship was lodg'd in one Hand by Authority of Parliament; this Example is in Miniature a true Emblem of the Disadvantages attending Commonwealths, in Respect of Monarchies, in which the Rays of Power,

Power, like the Sun's, when contracted to one Point are the stronger.

The Nonage of this Prince was frequently molested by Insurrections of the Populace, than which there never were greater in any Age or Country; one particularly of the Commons in *Kent*, with a Design to shake off the Vassalage which the common People at that Time lay under to their Lords: This Insurrection was equal in every Respect to the famous Commotion under *Massanello* at *Naples*, which has only made the more Noise of late in the World by happening nearer to our own Times, the Passages in both have very near Resemblance, if we consider the Number of the People, the Occasion of the Insurrection, the Meanness of their Leaders, (one being a poor Fisherman and the other a *Tyler*) the Fury of the Rabble, their pretended Justice on Malefactors, and at last their sudden Suppression as unaccountable as their Rising; but in one Respect the *English* Story

Story is more remarkable in the Person who put an End to this Tumult, by a Resolution so seldom found in a Burgher, this was the famous *William Walworth*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who had the Courage to vindicate the violated Majesty of his Prince by stabbing the insolent Villain at the Head of 200000 armed and enraged Rabble, when all the Nobility present, Men bred to Arms, were trembling for Fear; in this he was seconded by the Resolution of the King himself, who by his Presence of Mind and Voice daunted the Miscreants, on whom the Authority of his Proclamations and repeated Offers of Pardon could make no Impression before: For this good Service the Lord Mayor was Knighted, and his Dagger added to the City Arms, as some report, but others say this Bearing is more ancient; however, it never could be assum'd on a nobler Account.

This

This King was no sooner at Age, but his Favours to some particular Men made ill Blood in the rest of the Nobility, the chief Objects of their Envy were the Great Earl of *Oxford*, and *Delapool* Duke of *Suffolk*; the first had received a very unusual Title for a Subject, being created Duke of *Ireland* and Marquiss of *Dublin*, the other from the Son of a Merchant had been rais'd to the Dignity of a Duke; *Oxford* was a Man of a beautiful Person, and no less Accomplishments of Mind, but fierce and insolent, which made him have so many Enemies, who accus'd him of abusing the Power he had with the King to the Detriment of the Commonwealth, and Oppression of the other Nobility; these Complaints they laid before the King, but finding their Remonstrances have no Effect, they rise in Arms to remove the Favourite by Force, *Oxford* met the Lords at *Radcott* Bridge, where rather running away than beaten he saved himself by leaping into a River
and

and swimming over, but that which contributed the most to his Escape was an Opinion of his being drown'd, occasion'd by finding some of his Accoutrements in the Water, which he had flung away to expedite his Flight; he escap'd afterwards to *Louvain*, where he died in great Want and Misery: So dangerous it is to be too much in the Favour of a Prince, without a great deal of Merit to support an invidious Grandeur.

The Lords afterward marching with an Army of 40000 to *London*, compel the King to remove from his Person those whom they called Delinquents, which indeed prov'd to be every Body in any Post of Profit or Trust; nor did the fair Sex escape better, several Ladies of Quality being among the Number banish'd the Court; after which there follow'd the greatest Example of the People's doing themselves Justice on those who they believed had betray'd their Rights and Liberties,

berties, for in the ensuing Parliament all the Judges, except one, were arrested on the Bench, but none put to Death though condemn'd, except the Lord Chief Justice *Trefilian*, who was hang'd and then had his Throat cut at *Tyburn*, the others were only banish'd and their Goods confiscated; the Crime with which these Judges were charg'd was, giving Opinions too advantageous to the Prerogative, and prejudicial to the Liberty of the People; so far there was Colour of Justice, if these Accusations were true, the People might seem to be in the right in vindicating their Liberties, while they knew how with Prudence to distinguish who were the proper Objects of their Resentment by the Appointment of the Laws, without a Violation of that Sacred Character which the Laws of God, and the Constitution of our own Government, have elevated above the People's Animadversions, the Kings of *England* exempt in their Persons, being only accountable
in

in their Ministers, which Maxim, as it is the most Sacred as well as Wisest in our Constitution, so it would have been more for our Interest as well as Reputation, if we had always had the Honesty inviolably to have observ'd it.

Soon after this there happen'd an Affair which occasion'd the most illegal and extrajudicial Proceedings of this whole Reign, which tho' Necessity can hardly justify, yet however the Circumstances in which the King found himself will very much extenuate: This was the Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, a turbulent Malecontent, who was resolv'd to ruin the King whom he could not govern. This factious Prince to promote his own ambitious Designs, had conspired with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *St. Alban's*, and several Great Men of his own Party, to seize the Person of the King and his two Uncles *York* and *Lancaster*, with all the other Great Lords devoted to the King, whom they design'd

sign'd to murder, as well as most of the
 Privy Council, excepting the Person of
 the King, who was only to be spared,
 perhaps, to engage those in the Design,
 the Tenderneſs of whose Conſciences
 would not permit them to go ſo far;
 but this impious Contrivance was diſ-
 cover'd by the Earl Marſhal, Son-in-
 law to the Earl of *Arundel*, one of the
 chief Conſpirators; this Nobleman,
 touch'd with Remorſe of Conſcience
 for the Crime in which he was engag'd,
 came to the King one Night as he ſat
 at Supper, and drawing him aſide from
 the Table, laid open the whole Design,
 which was to be put in Execution the
 next Day; the King ſurpriz'd with the
 flagitiouſneſs of the Treason, and ter-
 rify'd with the Senſe of ſo imminent a
 Danger, after a ſhort Conſultation with
 his Council what to do in this Exigence,
 immediately took Horſe, and followed
 by ſeveral of the Nobility, on whose
 Fidelity he could rely, reſolv'd rather
 to meet, than attend his Danger, a pre-
 ſence

sence of Mind which could not result more from Necessity than natural Courage: Late the same Night they arrived at the Duke of *Glocester's* House in *Essex*, not very far from the Town, the Duke surpriz'd at such unexpected Guests, immediately rose, and came down undress'd to bid the King welcome, while at the same Time, not imagining his Designs discover'd, he inwardly applauded his good Fortune, which had so much more easily delivered the Prey into his Hands than he could have expected; upon this he intreated the King to stay all Night, who told him he had a Party of Pleasure to make in which he desir'd his Company, upon which the Duke, as soon as he could be accoutred, attended the King, who having drawn him to a convenient Distance from his own House where he had so numerous a Retinue as might have rescu'd him, commanded the Earl Marshal to arrest him for High Treason, which being perform'd, and the Duke disarm'd,

disarm'd, he was immediately hurried on Shipboard and convey'd to *Calais*, where it is believ'd he was strangled; this Proceeding can be excus'd by nothing but an absolute Necessity against a Man who was so dangerously Popular as to be above the Reach of the Law, and not to be attach'd by the common Methods of Justice: This Action gave the greatest Handle to the Duke's Friends to inveigh against the King, Mankind having been ever too disingenuous to allow any Guilt in their own Party.

I have been more particular in this Relation because some of our Writers, by telling only Matter of Fact, *viz.* the Seizure and Execution of this Duke, and not letting the Reader into the Motives and Causes of this extraordinary Proceeding, have given Posterity too disadvantageous Impressions of this Prince.

The Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with most of the other Conspirators,

were seiz'd the next Day and committed to Prison; upon this a Parliament being call'd, to whom the King laid open the whole Conspiracy, the House of Commons by the Mouth of their Speaker Sir *John Busby*, at the Bar of the Lords where the King was present, impeach'd the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with several others, of High Treason, after which they were attainted; the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, out of Respect to the Sanctity of his Character, was only banish'd and his Goods confiscated, so Sacred were the Persons of the Clergy in those Days.

Notwithstanding the great Zeal which appear'd in this House of Commons toward the King, in so readily punishing his Enemies, we shall shortly see the same Authority depose, without any new Cause of Disgust, this very Prince, to whose Service they seem'd so devoted before; so easy it is for well meaning Persons to be impos'd

pos'd on by the specious Pretences of crafty and designing Men.

An Accident which not long after happen'd contributed to this strange Revolution; the Duke of *Hereford*, who was Son to *John of Gaunt*, falling out with the Duke of *Norfolk* accus'd him of Words spoken derogatory to the King's Honour; but *Norfolk* denying the Accusation, there was no Way thought so expedient to decide this Matter as Combat, which was granted by the King, tho' this superstitious Method of discovering Truth began to grow ridiculous and obsolete at this Time; when the Combatants were enter'd the Lists, and ready to charge one another, the King, to prevent the Effusion of noble Blood by so uncertain a Decision of Truth, flung down his Warder and prevented their Engagement; afterwards upon mature Deliberation he adjudg'd them both to Banishment, *Norfolk* for Life, and *Hereford* for ten Years, which Sentence

must seem hard to the innocent Person, it being impossible but one must be in the Right, and consequently injur'd; however, to take off all Pretence of Partiality the King thought fit to punish both; but the Sentence against *Hereford*, who was his Cousin German, was shortly after contracted to four Years, nevertheless the Disgrace left that Sting in his Mind, and made such ill Blood against the King, as put *Hereford* afterwards upon Measures so inconsistent with his Honour and Duty; his Revenge was afterward more inflam'd by the Counsel and Suggestion of the Archbishop, whom he met Abroad under the same Circumstances of Exile.

This wicked Prelate, as the Corruptions of the best Things are always the worst, and an ill Priest the most abandon'd of Mankind, finding no Way to return Home but on the Ruins of his Prince, undertook the Management of *Hereford's* Affairs, by holding a Correspondence

spondence with the Malecontents in
England.

When every thing was ripe, *Henry of Bolingbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, sets sail for *England* with a few Followers of his Fortunes, whom the Conscience of their Crimes and a Fear of Justice had attach'd to his Interests.

Richard was at this Time in *Ireland*, which was the Reason he chose this Juncture, that he might make the more considerable Progress before the King could possibly return: Upon his first landing he declar'd, that he was only come to take Possession of his Inheritance devolv'd on him by the Death of his Father; the Plausibility of this specious Pretence drew at first a great many unthinking Men to his Party, it being always the Method of Ambition in the Beginning to disguise the main Design, till those who are at first drawn in only by their Weakness and Credulity, when once engag'd, by degrees grow harden'd in that Villany, at the

Mention of which they would have trembled before.

But this Attempt was too desperate to have succeeded, if the ill Stars of *Richard* had not concurr'd to his Ruin, for the Winds were so constantly West for forty Days together, that no Advice could be carried into *Ireland* of this Invasion in *England*.

As this long Space of Time encourag'd the Party of *Henry*, so it disheartened the Friends of *Richard*, who would have appeared in his Quarrel if he had been on the Place to have headed and supported them: *Richard* at this Time had acquir'd great Reputation in subduing the *Irish*, over which People he had further extended his Conquests than any of his Predecessors in that Kingdom; in this War he particularly distinguish'd, by signal Marks of his Favour, the young *Henry*, Son to *Hereford*, who at the same Time was actually dispossessing him of his Crown, but it is the common Fate of Usurpers to be

be as ungrateful as they are wicked and unjust.

Upon the first News, *Richard* immediately prepar'd to come into *England*, sending his Friends over before him to raise all the Force they could against his Arrival; but prevented by some Accidents, or his own unaccountable Destiny, a great Power of *Welsh*, who had appear'd in Arms on his Behalf, impatient of Delay disbanded, so many Accidents always concur to compleat the Destiny of the unfortunate; he had not been long landed when he was surpriz'd by an Ambuscade, and carried Prisoner to *Flint* Castle, to which Place *Hereford* with his Army soon resorted, accompany'd by that incendiary the Archbishop, who had the Assurance to appear in the Presence of his injur'd Master; at first Sight of the King the perfidious Duke with the most profound Dissimulation flung himself at his Feet, declaring, he was only come to recover his Patrimony, and
to

to procure the King's Honour and Safety, though at the same Time he had actually made him a Prisoner; from hence they conducted him by easy Journeys to *London*, denying him in this Restraint the Necessaries fit for his Person; upon his Arrival they immediately clapt him in the Tower, after which they call'd a Parliament, but in the Name, and by the Writs, of King *Richard*, the People at this Time not thinking they had Power to assemble Conventions without the legal Call of their lawful Prince: In this Parliament it was resolved to depose *Richard*, this House of Commons being fill'd with the King's Enemies, and the Creatures of his Adversary, as it is usual in most Turns of State and Revolutions, for wise and honest Men to sit still, while Fools and Knaves intrude into Authority and Power.

To this End they under-hand by Promises, Threats, and other Arts, so work'd upon the Spirit of *Richard*, as
to

to perswade him to resign his Crown voluntarily; which, they were conscious they had no Right to take away by Force.

The King finding it in vain to resist, submitted to his Destiny, thinking it better to do that with a good Grace and Air of Willingness which he could not prevent by struggling in vain; upon this he solemnly resign'd his Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster*

and *Hereford* his Cousin, Henry the 4th,
1399.

capitulating only for a convenient Maintenance during Life; but this poor Prince did not know an Observation of one of the wisest but most unfortunate of his Successors, that the Space is but short between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.

Thus ended the Reign of *Richard* the Second, a magnificent, generous, and good-natur'd Prince, with some Failings, and as great Virtues, but he was sacrificed to the Ambition of his own Family; and now we shall see the
aforesaid

aforesaid Observation made true, for this unfortunate Prince did not long survive his Deposition, it being usual for ambitious Men, having once shaken Hands with Honour and Principle, to stick at no Villany to secure what with as little Conscience they first acquired.

There are several Accounts of his Death, some say he was starv'd, and others that he died with Grief, and some have affirm'd that he was kill'd by Sir *Pierce of Exton*, who rushing into his Chamber with eight arm'd Men barbarously murder'd him, but not till first by a desperate Resistance he had reveng'd himself by dispatching four of the Assassins; a deplorable Fate, which might in Probability have been prevented, if he had defended his Crown with the same Resolution he did his Life.

In this Tragedy of *Richard* the Second we plainly see a conspicuous Example of the divine Justice, which ordain'd

dain'd that poor Prince to expiate the Crime of his Grandfather *Edward* the Third in deposing his own Father; the Ambition of that Prince being thus remarkably punish'd by the Division of his Family, who in the two Branches of *York* and *Lancaster*, for almost an Age together, tore out one another's Bowels and involv'd their Country in Blood and Desolation, the Experience of which one would think was enough to make Mankind rise in Arms and extirpate such ill Men who to their Lust of Power sacrificed the Repose and Safety of whole Nations.

Nor shall we see this *Henry* himself less punish'd for his unjust Seizure of the Throne, tho' not immediately in his own Person, but in his Children's Children, who tho' innocent, must all be sacrificed to the *Manes* of injur'd *Richard*; as also the factious Nobility, who assisted the Ambition of *Henry* in this unjust Revolution, must share the Punishment as well as the Guilt, most
of

of these Men meeting their just Reward at the Hands of the Usurper himself, whom a little before at the Expence of their own Honour and Consciences they had elevated to the Throne; besides, their Posterity for several Descents either fell by the Sword, or Axe, so Sacred is the Blood of lawful Princes.

Henry was no sooner settled on the Throne but he found the Uneasiness of a Crown wrong put on at first; the Nobility, with the same Levity with which they had abandon'd *Richard*, beginning to grow weary of an Idol which they themselves had erected: Upon this a Conspiracy was form'd in the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*, to depose *Henry* and restore *Richard*, who was not yet murder'd; but this Design being discover'd, all the Conspirators that were taken, without Mercy, were put to Death; the Duke of *Surrey* and Earl of *Salisbury*, tho' expiring of Wounds receiv'd in their Apprehension,

prehension, *flagrante crimine*, were beheaded on the Spot; the Duke of Exeter and Earl of Gloucester afterwards on a Scaffold; after which follow'd the Execution of several Gentlemen of Quality, with the greatest Effusion of Noble Blood that ever was shed by the Hands of the Hangman at one Time in England; by which we may see how much better it is to fall into the Hands of a lawful Prince, than an Usurper, who thinks himself no longer safe than he is Cruel; the one, when oblig'd to punish, remembers that he is correcting his Children, and the other revenging himself on his Enemies; among the Objects of Henry's Fury at this Time I cannot forbear to mention the famous Bishop of Carlisle, who is reported to have made that memorable Speech in the House of Peers at the Debate about deposing King Richard; but this Speech being to be found in all our common Chronicles, I thither refer the Reader, where he will find a great Example of Eloquence,

Eloquence, Piety, Justice, Honour, and Courage, in this noble Prelate, whose Virtue, the same Order of Men in succeeding Times, on the same Occasion, had neither the Boldness nor Honesty to imitate: Some Persons deny that this Bishop of *Carlisle* sat in this Parliament, but let that be how it will, the Speech is nevertheless right and valuable for not being spoken.

This Affair was soon over, but there follow'd another of more dangerous Consequence; the *Piercies* being disgusted, revolt from *Henry*, and rise in Arms; this Family by their Authority and Power were the greatest Instruments in the late Revolution, but now discontented, they thought they could pull down *Henry* with the same Ease they had elevated him before; upon this they renounce their Allegiance, and send him a Defiance, at the same Time reproaching him with a Breach of Faith in assuming the Crown, (which he had so solemnly forsworn on his landing) and murdering

murdering his lawful Prince, whom he had first traiterously depos'd; this Message was seconded by a good Army, commanded by *Harry Hotspur*, so call'd from his fiery Temper, Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

This Quarrel shews the Folly and Unreasonableness of Men, who not guided by a Steadiness of Principle follow the Dictates of their Passion, for with what Justice could they upbraid King *Henry* with a Crown which they themselves had given him? Or call him an Usurper, at whose Coronation they themselves assisted? But their Infidelity to *Richard* was to be punish'd now by the same Hands which they themselves had arm'd to their own Destruction; for *Henry* at the Battle of *Shrewsbury* defeats this Army, kills *Harry Hotspur*, and takes his Uncle the Earl of *Worcester* Prisoner, who soon after lost his Head; in this Battle *Henry* gave incredible Marks of his Courage, by slaying no less than thirty six with his own

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Hand: This defeat secur'd the Crown and the Fears of *Henry*, who was molested no more during the rest of his Reign, but by one Insurrection of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who perish'd in the Attempt; thus for a Time lay extinguish'd the Great House of *Piercy*, the Title of *Northumberland* being transferr'd to another Family: This Punishment fell justly on their Heads for their Ingratitude to *Richard* the Second, who first gave them that Honour which was taken away by the same Person to whom they had given his Crown.

Thus this unjust Possession, acquired by Blood, was confirm'd and supported by the same Methods and Principles, tho' this Severity in *Henry* resulted rather from his Ambition, and the Necessities of his Circumstances, than his Nature; for otherwise he was a very Great Man, and adorn'd with so many Virtues as would have made him worthy of a Crown, if he had not so unjustly desir'd one.

But

But as Violence never lasts very long, so the Reign of this Prince soon determined before he could enjoy the Fruits of his Toils and Dangers, for he died as soon as ever he began to be safe and easy, leaving his great Qualities as well as his Kingdom to his Son

Henry the Fifth, who deserved a better Title than his Father could bequeath him.

Henry the 5th,
1412.

This Prince, when he had ascended the Throne, approv'd himself a better Man than the Wildness of his Youth had promis'd, he seem'd to have no Passion but a Thirst of Glory, and to tread in the Steps of his Great-Grandfather *Edward the Third*, by asserting his Title to the Crown of *France*; this Humour of his was indulg'd and cherish'd by the Clergy of this Time, who apprehensive of some Revolution in the Church, by the Disposition they found in the People towards a Resumption of their Lands, thought by engaging him Abroad to divert the Warlike Genius of

this Prince from hearkening to any Proposals that should be made upon this Subject, which had already been debated in Parliament.

Thus encouraged by the Men whose Riches enabled them the most to support him, he resolv'd on a War with *France* in Prosecution of his Title, which was barr'd by the *Salique* Law, and deriv'd as far backward as his Great-Grandfather's Mother, who was a Daughter of *France*; upon this Resolution he sends a most splendid Embassy, whose Message was not a little surprizing to the *French* Court, being no less than a positive Demand of that Crown; this Message was justly derided by the *French*, and the Derision as severely reveng'd by the *English*: His Army being ready, tho' not proportionable in Number to the Vastness of the Design, he embark'd for *Normandy*, where arriving he made himself Master of *Harflue*; after which marching into the Country, he was encounter'd by a
powerful

powerful Army, whom he defeated at the famous Battle of *Agincourt*, the Glory of which Day was a little stain'd by the Cruelty shewn to the Prisoners, who were kill'd in cold Blood after the Fight was ended : This our Writers excuse by a new Alarm from the Enemy at a Time that the Prisoners exceeded the Number of those who took them. Thus having forced his Way homeward, he return'd to *London* triumphant with a few Captives, but a great deal of Glory.

The next Year he renew'd the War with greater Vigour and continued Success, to which the Revolt of the *French* contributed more than his own Strength and Power ; for the Queen and Dauphin falling out who should have the Regency during the Incapacity of *Charles* the Sixth, who was Frantick, the malicious Woman, to gratify her Passion of Revenge, chose rather to deliver her Country into the Hands of Strangers than to submit to her Son,

who disputed her Authority ; in this Point the Dauphin had certainly the Right on his Side in a Country ruled by the *Salique* Law, nothing seeming more unreasonable than that Women should govern a Kingdom, which they cannot inherit ; with the Queen was joined in Interest the Duke of *Burgundy*, a Prince almost as considerable as either the Kings of *France* or *England*, such a Conjunction must evidently crush the Dauphin, who now had but a very inconsiderable Party to support his Pretensions.

The Queen and Duke of *Burgundy*, thus governing every Thing in the King's Name, contract a Marriage between *Henry* of *England* and *Catharine* of *Valois*, the Conditions of which were, That during the Life of *Charles*, the King of *England* should have the Regency, and after his Death, inherit the Crown ; these Articles being ratify'd, and the Marriage celebrated, the *French* Nobility all swear Allegiance to the
King

King of *England*, and now the Armies of both Kingdoms being join'd pursue the unfortunate Dauphin with a vast Power, consisting of several Nations, which never fought before, nor hardly will again under the same Banners, *Burgundians, French, English, Scots, and Irish*; the Dauphin thus press'd, was forced to retire before his victorious Rival King *Henry*, who now committed an Action of such Cruelty as made him unworthy his good Fortune; for at the Siege of *Montreau*, a Town which held out for the Dauphin, to frighten the Governor into a Surrender, he commanded that twelve *French* Gentlemen of Quality, who were Prisoners in his Camp, should be hang'd in Sight of the Ramparts; an impious Violation of Faith, after Quarter once given: This and the like Actions in some of the bravest of our Princes, have made the *English* Story read a little too barbarous, it being to be lamented that so many other great Virtues should not be

supported by Humanity, Honour, and Justice.

Thus we have seen how *Henry* the Fifth acquired the Crown of *France*, to which his Sword would have given him a better Title, than either his Matrimonial, or what he deriv'd from his Great-Great-Grandmother Queen *Isabel*.

But Death soon after put a Stop both to his Pretences and Victories, in the Height of which, and the Flower of his Age, he was snatch'd away, leaving his beautiful Wife Queen *Catharine*, a distress'd, but not inconsolable Widow.

Notwithstanding the great Actions of this Prince, and a continued expensive War, he burdened his Subjects with less Taxes than some of his Successors in Times of Peace; by which we may see how great Designs may be accomplish'd by a good Economy and Frugality, when the most boundless Sums, for Want of those Virtues, have been found insufficient in our own Days either

ther to procure the Safety of our Neighbours or our own, a Misfortune more easily lamented than remedied in so abandon'd an Age, in which those who should have protected have endeavour'd to plunder their Country, and then promise themselves Impunity to their Crimes by their Impudence and Numbers.

Immediately upon the Death of Henry the Fifth, his Son of the same Name was pro-claim'd King of *France* and *England*; the Care of his Minority was committed to his two Uncles the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Glocester*, the first being left Regent of *France*, and the other of *England*; but the particular Education of his Person was under the Inspection of the Cardinal of *Beauford*: At the Beginning, under the Conduct of these Great Men, *Bedford*, *Salisbury*, and *Talbot*, the *English* Affairs met with so great Success in *France* that they did not seem to miss their victorious Henry; but

Henry the 6th,
1422.

but soon after the Dauphin, who upon his Father's Death had assumed the Title of King, by the Name of *Charles* the Seventh, began to get Ground by the daily Return of his Subjects to their natural Allegiance; to this Turn of Fortune the Superstition of that Age did not a little contribute, by the Opinion which the common People had entertain'd of the famous *Pucelle*, who, tho' a private Shepherdess, by a pre-
ceded Revelation from Heaven, had infus'd such Courage into the dispirited *French* as to make them hope at last to recover their Country, tho' all this was a Contrivance in the *French* Court to work on the Superstition of the People.

Under the Conduct of this Virago, the *French* in several Rencounters defeated the *English*; this Success rais'd the drooping Spirits of the one, and mortified the other, who now by a new Series of ill Success, found a visible Revolution of their Fortune; but at last this famous Heroine, after having

ving given wonderful Proofs of her Courage and Conduct, fell into the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who delivered her to the Regent, upon which her Proceſs being made, ſhe was condemn'd and burnt at *Roan* for a Witch; an Action not more cruel than unjuſt.

Ever after the *Engliſh* Fortune daily more and more declin'd, eſpecially upon the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was kill'd at the Siege of *Orleans*, on the Bridge of which City the Statue of that *Pucelle* is ſtanding at this Day, and her Memory adored in *France* with all the Veneration with which Gratitude can inſpire the Breasts of her reſcu'd Countrymen.

Not long after interven'd an Accident that gave the greateſt Blow to the *Engliſh* Fortune in *France*; this was the Miſunderſtanding between the Regent and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who upon ſome Diſguſt meditated a Revolt from the *Engliſh* to the other Side; as the Friendſhip of this Great Prince contri-

contributed so much before to Interest of *England*, so his Assistance, being withdrawn from one Side and added to the other, too powerfully turn'd the Scale ; soon after died the Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and with him the Fortune of *England*, if the Great *Talbot* had not surviv'd, but as one ill Accident is always attended by another, in a little Time he himself was taken Prisoner in one Battle, and soon after kill'd in another, but not till by his great Actions he had reflected as much Glory on his Country as on his illustrious Family, whose very Name was formidable to the *French*.

Among the memorable Persons in this *French* War, I cannot omit the famous Sir *John Falstaff*, who, tho' one of the bravest and most active Men of his Time, being not only a great Officer, but a gallant Cavalier, has been ridicul'd and misrepresented by the Pen of a certain Poet, for an Original of Buffoonry and Cowardice, for
no

no other Reason but that some of his Posterity had disoblig'd Mr. *Shakespear*, so dangerous it is to make Enemies of those Men, who not only command the present, but can look back into past Ages, bring the dead upon the Stage, and by the Immortality of their Writings, extend their Revenge to the End of the World; I mention this not only to do Justice to the injur'd, but to shew the Vanity of troubling oneself to acquire a Reputation upon any other Account but our own Satisfaction, since 'tis in the Power of any one Man of Wit to reverse the Character and spoil the Heroe.

The Revolt of *Burgundy* was follow'd by the Desertion of the Duke of *Brittain*, who left the *English* to court the rising Fortunes of *Charles*; all these concurrent Misfortunes meeting with a weak Reign in *England*, and consequently Distractions at Home thro' the mutual Dissentions of the Great Men, put an End to the *English* Dominion in *France*;

France; but the ill Blood between the Dukes of York and Somerset had more fatal Consequences, York had laid several Accusations to the Charge of Somerset and Suffolk, but found no Remonstrances could make any Impression to their Disadvantage on the King, who proving a very weak Man, had intirely resign'd himself to the Conduct of his Queen Margaret, Daughter to the titular King of Naples and Sicily; this Queen, a Woman of a Genius and Spirit above her Sex, finding the Incapacity of the King her Husband, who was fitter for a Cowl than a Crown, by the Assistance of Somerset and others of that Party, assum'd the whole Management of Affairs; the Duke of York saw himself in the last Danger, while Somerset continu'd in such Authority and Power, especially after such an Example, as the Death of Humphrey Duke of Glocester, who had wrongfully been attainted, and afterwards murdered

dered in his Bed by the Queen's Faction.

But the Envy of *Somerſet's* Greatneſs, or the Danger of his Power, were not the ſole Reaſons that oblig'd the Duke of *York* to think his Removal neceſſary, conſcious of his own Right to the Crown, this Prince had begun to project ſome Deſigns of re-eſtabliſhing his Family upon the Ruins of the Houſe of *Lancaster*, to whom *Somerſet* was intirely devoted by the Ties of Blood and Intereſt; to remove ſo great an Obſtacle, the Duke of *York* thought fit to ſtrengthen his Party by engaging the moſt conſiderable Men in his Intereſt, among theſe were the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, who were Father and Son, the laſt of theſe Earls was call'd by the common People, *Make-King*, from the conſtant Succeſs which attended that Side, in the following Wars, to which he carried his Arms; the great Popularity of this Nobleman was acquired by his immense Liberality in Houſe-

House-keeping, the only Way to be Great in that Age, for it is reported, that this Earl of *Warwick* us'd to spend seven Oxen at one Breakfast to regale the Rabble, which made him such a Darling of the common People, that at a Whistle he could never Want an Army at his Devotion.

These Great Lords having concerted their Measures, since other Applications had no Success, resolve to remove *Somerſet* by Force of Arms, in Order to which having rais'd an Army in *Wales* and the *North*, they march for *London*, and are met in the Way by the King, Queen, and *Somerſet*, at *St. Alban's*, where was the first Blood drawn in this Quarrel between the two Roses; in this Battle *Henry* was defeated and taken Prisoner, but treated with all manner of Respect, on his Side fell the Duke of *Somerſet*, the pretended Occasion of the War, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*; this Decision of Fortune put the Management of Affairs intirely

intirely into the Hands of *York*, who as yet only pretended to redress Grievances, without laying any Claim to the Crown; immediately after the Victory, *York* and *Warwick* bring the King in Triumph to *London*, where they obliged him to call a Parliament, in which it was enacted, That the Duke of *York* should be Guardian and Protector of the Realm; tho' the King was 35 Years of Age at this Time.

This Indignity so irritated the great Spirit of the Queen, that she immediately rallied the Ruins of the *Lancastrian* Faction, whom she endeavour'd to inspire with Sentiments of Revenge equal to her own; but the Fortune of this Great Princess was not just to her Courage and Genius, she was defeated again at the Battle of *Northampton*, whence she narrowly escap'd with her Son the young Prince of *Wales*, leaving the unfortunate *Henry* a second Time Prisoner; this new Success gave fresh Hopes to the Duke of *York*, who convenes a

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new Parliament in the Name of *Henry*; in this Sessions he thought it a proper Time to assert his Title to the Crown, which he knew indisputably just; upon this Resolution, he took his Opportunity in the House of Lords, after he had first in a short Harangue declared his Right, and the Injuries which his Family had received from the House of *Lancaster*, to place himself on the Throne; every Body was too conscious of his Right to make any Opposition, so that at last it was agreed in this Parliament, that *Henry* should enjoy the Crown for his Life, and the Duke of *York* succeed him.

This is certainly one of the most strange Revolutions that ever happen'd in any Country; one might have thought the Crown of *England* at this Time securely fix'd in the House of *Lancaster*, by a Prescription of sixty Years, a Succession of three Kings in a lineal Descent, two of which were very great and valiant Princes, the Third
had

had been in Possession almost 40 Years, and at this Time had a Son with the Title of Heir to the Crown; by this Example we may see that no Time can establish, no Sanction of human Authority confirm, what is not originally in itself founded on Truth, Equity, and Justice, so weak and fallible is that absurd Maxim, *Factum valet, quod fieri non debuit*; an Excuse first invented to palliate the unfledg'd Villany of some Men, who are asham'd to be Knaves, and yet have not the Courage to be honest.

Here we cannot but reflect on the Unhappiness of these Times, in which both Sides might think themselves in the Right, tho' the House of York had indisputably the just Title, in being descended from *Lyonel Duke of Clarence*, who was third Son to *Edward the Third*, whereas the House of *Lancaster* derived themselves from the Fourth; but this was more than the common People knew, who could not be suppos'd

to look back into Pedigrees so remote; they had seen a constant Succession for three Descents in the House of *Lancaster*, every Man in his own Person had sworn Allegiance to *Henry* the Sixth, his Father to *Henry* the Fifth, and his Grandfather to *Henry* the Fourth, all which Time the Title pretended by the House of *York* had lain dormant; these Considerations could not fail to engage a great many honest and well meaning People on the wrong Side; but it was at this Time the Will of Heaven equally to divide the Nation, that the War might continue the longer, the whole Body of the People being now to be punish'd for their Rebellion against *Richard* the Second, and afterwards breaking thro' the Constitution in laying aside the Family of *Mortimer*, who were presumptive Heirs, and had been so declared by that King, in whose Room they unjustly substituted *Harry* of *Lancaster*, who could have no manner of just

just Pretence to the Crown till the Race of *Mortimer* were extinct.

That Injustice now evidently occasion'd this long, bloody, and unnatural Civil War, in which were consumed 200000 common Soldiers, 10000 of the Nobility, Gentry, and Persons of Distinction, all the Princes of the Blood, three Kings, and at last the great Race of *Plantagenett* extinguish'd; if all which Miseries could have been foreseen at the Deposition of *Richard* the Second, it is probable the People of *England* would not have bought at such a Price the Exchange of two Kings.

After this Settlement the Duke of *York* thought himself secure of the Crown, which he was destin'd never to wear himself, tho' it descended on his Family; for now the Queen and the new Duke of *Somerset*, who after the Battle of *Northampton* were fled into *Scotland*, return'd with a great Power of *Scots* and other Northern *English*, once more to try their Fortune; upon

this the Duke of York, leaving the King in safe Custody, immediately marches against Queen *Margaret* with much an inferior Force, but this Defect he thought sufficiently supply'd by the Goodness of his Troops, relying too much on their Courage, and his own good Fortune, which yet had never abandon'd him; the Event shew'd the Rashness of this Resolution, which was contrary to the Advice of his Friends, who would have perswaded him to stay till his Army grew stronger by fresh Reinforcements; this Counsel was certainly right, but the Duke blinded by his Destiny, and carried on by his natural Ardour, would nevertheless engage the Enemy, by whose Number over-power'd, he lost both the Day and his Life; his Son the young Earl of *Rutland*, a Child of twelve Years old, was inhumanly stabb'd by the Lord *Clifford*, tho' he begg'd his Life on his Knees; the Earl of *Salisbury*, Father to *Warwick*, was taken Prisoner and beheaded;

headed; nor was more Respect shewn to the Body of the Duke of York, whose Head crown'd with a Paper Diadem in Derision, by the Queen's Command was set on the Walls of the City which gave him his Title.

The World might have expected to have seen a new Turn of Affairs upon this Blow given to the House of York, but the ill Star of *Henry* was still too predominant; the Earl of *March*, who inherited all the great Qualities of his Father, as well as his Pretensions, had at the same Time defeated a Party of *Lancaster* on the Borders of *Wales*, in which Rencounter was taken Prisoner *Owen Teuthor*, who had married the Widow of *Harry* the Fifth, this Gentleman the Earl of *March* sacrificed immediately to the *Manes* of the Duke of York his Father, after which marching to *London*, he prevented the Queen by getting there before her; upon which *Margaret* was forced to retreat from the Sight of *London* back into the

North; this gave an Opportunity to *Edward* to assert his Pretensions, assume the Title of King, and by a noble Effort at once leap into that Throne, to which his Father, for Want of the same Resolution, had waited so long to be led by the People.

Here our Chronicles
Edward the 4th, end the Reign of *Henry*
 1460. the Sixth, a mild, harmless, and devout Prince, who wanted Courage and Genius longer to support so ill a Title; however we shall once more see him on the Throne, and cast down again by as sudden a Revolution of Fortune.

Edward was hardly fix'd in his new Seat before he saw himself once more oblig'd to win the Crown before he could wear it, *Henry* and *Margaret* had still on Foot a very considerable Force in the North, which *Edward* thought necessary to vanquish before he could quietly enjoy his good Fortune; upon this he marches Northward, and at the famous

famous Battle of *Towton* once more defeats the Army of unfortunate *Henry*: This cruel Day must fill the Reader with Horrour, when he is acquainted with all the Circumstances of this Battle, which is the most memorable of any since the Conquest for the Obstinacy of the Combat, which lasted two Days, and the Cruelty of the Slaughter, in the Account of which our Historians are so particular as to tell us a definite Number of the slain, *viz.* 36776, but what is more lamentable, this was all *English* Blood, shed by the mutual Rage of Fathers, Sons, and Brothers; this horrid Carnage was occasion'd by an Order proclaim'd thro' *Edward's* Camp just before the Engagement, that none should give or take Quarter, which cruel Injunction was so strictly perform'd, that no Person of any Note was made Prisoner but the Earl of *Devonshire*, who had the Fortune to meet with an Enemy more generous than to obey so barbarous a Command; nevertheless

theless this Humanity was of no further Service than to defer his Fate for a few Hours, in reserving him for the more ignoble Stroke of the Axe; it being the Custom of these Times, either to give no Quarter at all, or else immediately to execute the Unfortunate in the Field of Battle, after a short Time allow'd for Confession.

This Victory establish'd *Edward* in the Possession of the Throne, confirm'd not long after by another Advantage over the Enemy, so unsuccessful at this Time were all the Attempts of the House of *Lancaster*; but what the Swords of his Enemies could not compass, the Destiny, or rather Imprudence of *Edward* will bring to pass: This Prince was the most beautiful Man of his Time, and not the least voluptuous, the Charms of his Person were none of the most inconsiderable Supports of his Interest, they had already made so deep an Impression on the Hearts of that Sex, who in all Ages be-
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hind the Curtain have govern'd the World, that the Citizen's Wives, who are none of the most mortify'd Part of Womankind, had generally engaged their Husbands in his Interests, whose Purfes were as open to *Edward* as the Arms of their Wives; thus this young King supported himself by a particular Conduct, which would have ruin'd another in the Esteem and Affections of his People; some of his Successors, without other Helps but what they could get by their Gallantry with the Ladies, would have been despicably poor.

But tho' he succeeded so well with other Men's Wives, it was fatal to him to have one of his own, except he had made a more prudent Choice; for notwithstanding he had been affianced to the Lady *Bona*, Sister to the *French* Queen, and Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, by his Proxy the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he had sent over on Purpose as the most proper Person to do Honour to

to that Solemnity, nevertheless falling in Love with a young Widow in the mean Time, whose Charms were as irresistible as her Chastity inexpugnable, he sacrificed his Glory to his Passion, and married the Lady Grey, Relict of Sir *John Grey* kill'd on the Side of *Lancaster* at the Battle of *St. Alban's*, at the same Time declaring, that she was only fit to be his Wife who had disdain'd to be his Mistress; this Match was very improper in every Respect, first, the Disparity of Condition, by which there was no Portion, Interest, or Alliances, the Inconvenience of her having several Children already, besides all the ill Consequences which attend the Marriages of Kings with their Subjects, of which this was the first Example since the Conquest.

As this Violation of Faith lessen'd *Edward*, not only in the Esteem of foreign Princes but his own Subjects, so this Affront to the Lady more particularly irritated the Parties concern'd,

France

France and *Savoy*, who highly resented so great an Indignity; nor was the Earl of *Warwick* less sensible of his own Injury in this Affair, tho' Prudence for a Time made him smother his Resentment till a fit Opportunity of Revenge; in Order to which he works upon the flexible Nature of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward*, and debauches him from the Interest of his Family so far, as to conspire the Restauration of *Henry* the Sixth; *Warwick* and *Clarence* thus agreed, confirm their Friendship by a Marriage between the Duke and a Daughter of the Earl, after which they concert their Measures to make War on *Edward* and depose him: Upon this Resolution they take Arms, and declare against *Edward* as a Tyrant and Usurper. The King, not a little surpriz'd at the Defection of his Brother, raises a considerable Army to oppose his Enemies, when lull'd into Security by the Cunning of *Warwick*, he was one Night surpriz'd in his Camp and

and made a Prisoner; here was a sudden Revolution of Affairs, which would have been more surprizing in any other Country less obnoxious to such frequent Changes; but before *Warwick* could make Use of his good Fortune, the Carelessness of his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, to whose Custody *Edward* was committed, by suffering his Prisoner to escape, frustrated all his Designs.

Edward at Liberty immediately raises new Forces, upon which *Warwick* and *Clarence* unable to resist by having too soon disbanded their Army, are forced to retreat into *France*, whence not long after returning with a few Troops lent by that Crown, and all the Refugees of the House of *Lancaster*, they form'd a very considerable Army in Favour of *Henry*.

Edward unable to resist this sudden Invasion, and perceiving a Defection of his People to the Enemy, thought fitter to retreat till the Storm shou'd spend its

its Fury, than by flaying in a House which was on Fire about his Ears, by his own Rashness justify his Fate; upon which Consideration, without one Stroke at this Time to save his Crown, he privately retreated on Shipboard, and flew for Refuge to his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Burgundy*: This Conduct of *Edward* was never afterward by his Enemies made a Pretence to reflect on the Courage of this brave Prince.

This wonderful Turn re-establish'd the Red Rose, and seem'd to extirpate the White; *Henry*, who had been nine Years a Prisoner in the Tower, is now again mounted on that Throne, with which he had so long been acquainted; but whether or no he distrust'd his Fortune, or else had his Mind alienated from the World by a long Habit of Devotion in his Confinement, he did not seem so much to relish this new Prosperity as might have been expected.

Soon after in the next Parliament *Edward* is declar'd an Usurper, and with

with all his Adherents attainted ; by which we may see how little Regard in this one Point was to be had to the Decrees of that Assembly, who partook so much of the mutual Nature of those who chose them, it being remarkable that all along in this Dispute, the Parliaments ever recogniz'd the Victor and attainted the vanquish'd, with the same Inconstancy as the Rabble huzza'd whenever a new Revolution gave them the Diversion of a Holy Day, which was now preparing ; for *Edward*, assisted by the Duke of *Burgundy* with 2000 *Dutch*, a People destin'd to make Revolutions in *England*, lands in the North, where meeting with an unexpected Coldness in the People, he thought fit by a Meaness of Spirit unworthy his Character, to wave his Pretensions to the Crown, and declare he only came to possess his private Demefnes ; and to make the World believe that he was in Earnests, he wore the Cognizance of Prince *Edward*, *Henry's*

My's Son, in his Cap: But soon afterwards finding his Friends flock to him, he marches for *London*, throws off his Disguise, and seizes the Person of unfortunate *Henry*, who now is convey'd again to his old Prison the Tower; upon this the ensuing Parliament attaint the dispossefs'd *Henry*, and acknowledge the Right of *Edward*, whom six Months before the same Authority had declar'd an Usurper.

Edward thus defeated must fight again for his Crown, the Earl of *Warwick* had another Army ready to dispute his Title, but by the Perfidy of *Clarence*, who now deserted his Party and went to the King, this Great Man lost both the Battle of *Barnet* and his Life; tho' this Victory might seem for ever to settle the House of *York* on the Throne, a few Days discover'd that *Edward* must once more renew his Toils and Dangers; Queen *Margaret* and her Son Prince *Edward* land in the West, whence designing to march into South *Wales*,
P where

where their Interest lay, they are overtaken at *Teuksbury* by the victorious *Edward*; at this Place the House of *Lancaster* made their last Efforts, being defeated in a decisive Battle, and for a greater Aggravation of the Misfortune, the poor Prince *Edward*, only Son to *Henry*, and the last Hope of his Family, fell into the Hands of the Conqueror, who with ungenerous Reproaches insulting the Unfortunate, met with the same Return from the Fierceness of this young Prince, who asserted at this Time with more Courage than Prudence, the Pretensions of his Family; upon which, the brutal Dukes of *Glocester* and *Clarence* fell upon him, and with repeated Stabs put an End to his innocent Life; the Duke of *Somerset* drag'd from the Altar, with several other Persons of Quality, was put to Death, this being the Third Duke of this Family successively who had fallen in this Quarrel either by Sword or Axe, a wonderful Fidelity, which seems to be

be transmitted to their Posterity, by shining so conspicuously at this Day in the illustrious House of *Beaufort*: Not long after that Monster the Duke of *Glocester* buried the same Dagger, already stain'd with the Blood of the Son, in the Heart of the Father, then a Prisoner in the Tower. Thus ended the miserable Life of *Henry* the Sixth, who had so long been the Sport of Fortune, and whose Innocence, Simplicity, and Devotion, could not defend him from the Vengeance due to the Guilt of his Grandfather *Henry* the Fourth, in usurping the Crown of *England*; this Method of Providence in punishing the Children for the Crimes of their Fathers, as it is too Sacred for our Scrutiny, so it should be too terrible not to frighten the thinking Part of Mankind from pursuing such pernicious and fatal Examples.

After this last Victory, *Edward* had no more Occasion to draw his Sword; this State of Tranquility gave him leave

to indulge his Genius, and sacrifice the rest of his Days to his Pleasures, in which Course of Life he did not long survive, dying in the 41st Year of his Age; whether or no his Days were shorten'd by his own Intemperance, or the Practices of *Glocester*, who had already remov'd his Brother *Clarence* to make Way for his Ambition, is uncertain.

The Death of *Edward*
Edward the 5th, was not more fatal to his
 1483.

Family in Respect of the Minority of his Children, than in the Choice of a Guardian, who was their unnatural Uncle the Duke of *Glocester*; it is very wonderful how *Edward* came to make such a Choice, who could not be unacquainted with the villanous Disposition of his Brother; but perhaps apprehending his Ambition, he thought the safest Way was to gratify that Passion by advancing him to the supremest Dignity next to the Crown, in Hopes this generous Confidence and Trust would

would oblige him to a greater Fidelity in his Charge: If this was the View of *Edward*, he did not thoroughly know the Nature of that boundless Appetite which no Circumstances of Life, tho' never so great, so easy, glorious and desirable, can satiate, for when one Prospect is attain'd, there still remains a farther Object of the restless Desire.

The first Advance of *Richard* towards his ill Designs was the Removal from the King's Person of all his Maternal Relations, whom he first imprison'd and then murder'd; upon which the Queen Mother apprehending justly the Consequences, fled with her Second Son into Sanctuary at *Westminster*; this Flight of the Queen's with her Son not a little disturb'd *Richard*, whose Aim would have been lost if he could not destroy both together, to remove therefore this Obstacle he made Use of all his Address and Hypocrisy to get the Child into his Hands, at last his profound Dissimulation, his Vows, Oaths,

and other Arts, had too powerful an Influence on the Fears of a helpless and disconsolate Woman, the Queen deliver'd her innocent Child to his bloody Executioner, who removes him with his Brother in great Pomp and State to the Tower, which in Reality he made their Prison, and not their Palace.

The next Advance thought necessary to prepare the Way to the Murder and Usurpation was, to give the People wrong Impressions concerning the Legitimacy of his Brother's Children; this Talk was undertaken by a mercenary Preacher of that Time, who in the Pulpit endeavour'd to villify the Birth of the young King and his Brother, on Pretence that King Edward had been precontracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy before he married Queen Elizabeth; but this Sermon had no other Effect, than to raise the Disdain and Indignation of the Audience against the scandalous Preacher.

Never

Nevertheless *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham* were not in the least discourag'd from pursuing their horrid Design; how that great Nobleman, who had Ambition and Pretensions of his own, came to be a Creature of *Richard*, and subservient to this Design, is unaccountable, some say the Protector promis'd him the Dukedom of *Hereford*, to which belong'd a vast De-mean, but whatever Engagements were between them, it is certain *Richard* afterwards did not keep his Word, which might be the Reason of *Buckingham's* Disgust.

The Management and Artifices us'd by *Buckingham* to set the Crown on the Head of this Usurper are too well known to be insisted on here, I shall only therefore observe the remarkable Punishment on *Buckingham*, and the expected Vengeance on *Rich-*

ard, who no sooner had Richard the 3d, 1483.

robbed his Nephews of their Right, but he thought fit to fi-

nish his Cruelty by the last Injustice in taking away their Lives, after which horrid Fact he grew as odious to the rest of Mankind as he was terrible to himself.

And now follow'd the just Punishment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who fell a Sacrifice to the Security of that Greatness which he himself had rais'd; whether or no Discontent, or Remorse of Conscience for the Share he had in the Injustice, first exasperated him against *Richard* is uncertain; but soon after the Coronation of the Usurper he shew'd too sensible Marks of his Disgust, and retir'd from Court; this Conduct could not fail to raise the Tyrant's Jealousy, for wicked Men are always suspicious that every Body will take from them what they are conscious to have ravish'd from others by the same Violence! The Duke summon'd to Court, not only refus'd to obey, but flew into open Defiance by rising in Arms, which had no other Consequences but his own Ruin, for being deser-

ted

ted by his Soldiers, whose Superstition was affected by an extraordinary Inundation of the River *Severn*, he was proscrib'd, taken, and executed.

After this Success *Richard* had no considerable Enemy to fear but the Earl of *Richmond*, who had been kept in Nature of a Prisoner for a long Time in the Court of the Duke of *Brittain*, the Person of this Nobleman *Richard* endeavour'd by all Means to secure in his own Power, especially upon Advice that his Enemies design'd to marry him to his Brother *Edward's* eldest Daughter, by which he would have an indisputable Title to the Crown; to prevent this fatal Design, he resolv'd to add Incest to his other Crimes by marrying that Princess himself, in Order to which he poison'd his Wife to make Room in his Bed, and at last got Possession of his Mistress's Person; but before he could put his impious Designs in Execution, the Earl of *Richmond*, spurr'd by an absolute Necessity, with some

some Troops and a few Followers of his Fortune, landed in *Wales*, the Esteem of the one added to the Detestation of the other soon drew a considerable Army to his Banners; upon which *Richard*, with a Force that follow'd him more out of Fear than Inclination, marches against him, and at the Battle of *Bosworth* lost the Day, his Crown, and Life together, but not till he had first given convincing Proofs of an undaunted Courage, which the Conscience of so many Crimes could not stagger; a Resolution which should have adorn'd a better Man, and defended a juster Title.

In this wicked Prince ended the Reign of the *Plantagenets*, there being at this Time but one Male left of that illustrious Family, who was afterwards sacrificed to the Security of *Richard's* Successor.

Such is the dismal Catastrophe of Ambition, whose fatal Consequences made so terrible a Havock in this Great Race,
who

who had reign'd for 300 Years with so much Glory to themselves, and Honour to their Country, and might in Probability have sat on this Throne till the End of the World, being so numerously branch'd, if they had not destroy'd one another by Discord and Civil Dissension, to gratify an impotent and boundless Thirst of Empire.



SECTION IV.

AFTER the Fight

Sir William Stanley,

Henry the
7th, 1485.

to whose Revolt

from the Party of Richard

was owing the Victory of

Richmond, finding the Crown of the slain Usurper in the Field of Battle, plac'd the glorious Spoil on the Head of the fortunate Conqueror, which Ceremony seconded by the Acclamations of the

the Soldiers, who saluted him King, gave *Henry* a Title to a kind of military Election, tho' he was fonder of a Right by Conquest, and his Pretensions to the House of *Lancaster*, both which he seem'd to prefer to that which was his justest and strongest, the Matrimonial Title, the last being cemented by the Affections of the People, who were generally devoted to the House of *York*; this happy Union in the Person of *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, put an End to that fatal Division which for fourscore Years had fill'd *England* with a constant Scene of Blood and Horreur.

This *Henry Tudor* we may reckon among our Great, Wise, and Valiant Princes, though his natural Frugality, especially in his later Years, degenerated into the neighbouring Vice of Avarice, which had very ill Consequences on the Property and Ease of his Subjects: My Lord *Bacon*, who has particularly writ the Life of this Prince, has

has taken great Pains to set him out in the most shining Colours, as a perfect Pattern of consummate Wisdom; tho' after all, he seems rather to give the World an Idea what such a Prince should have been, than really what he was, his Virtues being stain'd by some Instances of Ingratitude, and Cruelty, which last Quality seems to run in a constant Vein thro' the whole Race of *Tudor*, more or less, as we shall find in the Sequel of their Story.

Henry had no sooner confirm'd himself on his new Seat, by a Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*, but he shew'd an Instance of his Ingratitude by a Coldness and Neglect of that Princess, to whose Right he was so oblig'd for his own, which Benefit he was so unwilling to acknowledge, that he deferred the Coronation of his Queen as long as he could, till the Discontents and Murmurs of the People oblig'd him to that Ceremony; this impolitick Neglect of the House of *York* reviv'd the Affections

Affections of the Nation to that Family, and made him be haunted with those Spectres afterward, which disturb'd a great Part of his Reign, The Impostures of *Lambert Stinnet*, and *Perkin Warbeck*, both supported by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, a mortal Enemy to the House of *Lancaster*, are the most surprizing Incidents in the *English* Story; but since both these Adventures have been written so accurately by the Great Lord *Bacon*, it would be an unnecessary Presumption to trouble the Reader with any Relation of those Affairs, for which Reason I shall be shorter in the Account of this Reign, which has had the good Fortune to be illustrated by so great a Pen, and only take Notice of two indelible Blemishes in his imaginary Heroe.

The first was the Cruelty shewn to *Edward Plantagenett* Earl of *Warwick*, who having been confin'd from his Infancy, first by *Richard* the Third, and afterwards by the present King, was
drawn

drawn into a Conspiracy by *Perkin Warbeck* a Prisoner at the same Time in the Tower, to make his Escape, which Attempt was justifiable by the Laws of Nature and Self-preservation; thus for no other Crime but too near a Title to the Crown, was this poor Prince put to Death; but what aggravates the Barbarity was, that this *Perkin* underhand was imploy'd purposely to decoy this unhappy Youth into that Design, that the suspicious *Henry* might have a Pretence to take away his Life: This Earl of *Warwick* was the last Male *Plantagenett*, and certainly an Object of Compassion, if it were only on Account of his Simplicity and Innocence, occasion'd by his close Confinement, for it is reported that he was so perfectly ignorant of the World, as to ask what Creature a Cock was when he saw one from his Window.

The next will be an Instance of as much Ingratitude as Injustice in this Prince; *Sir William Stanley* his Chamberlain,

berlain, the Person who had set the Crown on his Head after the Battle of *Bosworth*, was executed for Words only, which a very hard Construction could wrest into Treason; my Lord *Bacon* endeavours to palliate this Action by an Excuse, which instead of Extenuation, aggravates the Horrour of this Ingratitude; his Words are, *That the Death of this Great Man was sweeten'd to Henry by a vast Confiscation*; as if the Atrocity of the Fact, in taking away an innocent and deserving Man's Life, were lessen'd by an Addition of Injustice, in robbing his Posterity, Covetousness being a very ill Excuse for Murder; if the Historian had only defended this Conduct by the Necessity of the Times, and *Henry's* Apprehensions of Dangers, it would have been more pardonable, it being only a Weakness to be timorous, but a Crime to be unjust.

The last Years of this King's Reign were totally spent in plundering the People, by reviving obsolete Penal Statutes,

tutes, which brought into the Exchequer vast Confiscations, tho' attended by the Curses of the People; the two chief Instruments of this Oppression were, *Empson* and *Dudley*, two Projectors, who justly afterwards suffer'd for these Violences in the succeeding Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, to make Way for whom, his Father opportunely died just as he came of Age, before he was disturb'd by the Ambition, great Spirit, and better Title of his Son, whose Principles probably would have very little restrain'd him from such a Conduct towards his Father.

The Greatness of Mind in this Prince, the Beauty of his Person, Magnificence, Courage, and other great Qualities, presag'd a more auspicious and shining Reign than what we shall see blacken'd by the highest Examples of barbarous Tyranny, a Reign which even the most flagitious of the Roman Emperors, *Christiern* of Denmark, Don

Henry the 8th,
1509.

Q

Pedro

Pedro of Castile, or the Russian Wasilonich, could not exceed in some Instances of Blood, Cruelty, and immense Profusion; so just and true is that Assertion of the Great *Ramleigh*, *That if the Picture of Tyranny were lost, the Original might be retriev'd in the Life of this King*; the very Commencement of whose Reign was stain'd with Blood, at which Time Princes generally turn their best Side outtermost by Acts of Mercy and Indulgence, to give the People the better Impressions of their future Government.

The first Noble Blood shed, was that of *Delapool Earl of Suffolk*, who had been detain'd in Prison for several Years by *Harry the Seventh*, who only spared his Life upon a Parole given to *Philip the Archduke*, when that Prince unworthily deliver'd this unfortunate Nobleman, upon a Promise not to take away his Life; but as if such an Evasion could salve his Honour and Conscience, *Henry* upon his Death-bed com-
manded

handed his Son to secure him; a very odd Legacy of Blood to be left by a dying Man, whose Thoughts should have been otherwise imploy'd in the last Moments; this Injunction was not more uncharitably left by the Father than impolitickly executed by the Son, by which Action he gave his People a new Specimen of that Cruelty which so constantly rag'd the rest of his Reign, which commenc'd indeed with an Heir of Magnificence and Grandeur above the Luxury of that Time; nothing to be seen but Tilts, Tournaments, Balls, and such Diversions, in which the King himself, very graceful in his Person, and *adroit* in his Exercises, had always the most considerable Part; but tho' these Entertainments might seem worthy a great young Prince, who had a Mind to shew the World the Magnificence of his Court, yet they were very fatal in their Consequences, by giving him a constant Habit of Expence, till the Treasures of the Crown were

so exhausted as to put him upon those impious Measures to support his Necessities, by Sacrilege, and unjust Confiscations.

But now to shew the World his Puissance and Power, as well as Riches and Grandeur, he resolv'd on a War with *France*, in which he was not so successful on an Element, which Nature seems to have appropriated to the Triumphs of the *English*, for in an Attempt upon *Brest*, his Fleet was defeated, and Sir *Edward Howard*, who commanded, being boarded by the *French* Gallies, was with a half Pike thrown into the Sea and drown'd; but tho' he was more fortunate in his Enterprizes on Land, yet the Success did not answer the Vastness and Expence of the Preparations, which were as Magnificent as Warlike, the *English* Camp in this Expedition having more the Air of the Eastern Luxury than that rugged Simplicity and Plainness which made the Arms of our Ancestors at *Crecy* and *Poitiers* at once

so terrible and Successful; the very Sails of his own Ship, in which he went to *Calais*, were all Cloath of Gold, with all other proportionable Marks of Parade and Ostentation in the Furniture and other Habiliments of his Army, which were no sooner debark'd, but *Henry* immediately march'd and laid Siege to *Teroenne*; while he lay before this Place the Emperor *Maximilian* came to the *English* Camp, and putting on the Cross of St. George, serv'd as a private Centinel, with a Stipend of an hundred Crowns *per Diem*, an Honour that was never done to any King before: The *French* resolv'd to raise the Siege, but were defeated in the Attempt, and from their making less use of their Swords than their Spurs, this Battle was call'd by that Name; upon this Success, instead of pursuing his Victories after the Surrender of this Town and also *Tournay*, which he took soon afterward, *Henry* spent the Residue of the Campaign in Balls and Revels,

having several Ladies in the Camp to compleat these Diversions; while he lay before this last Place there happen'd a Passage, which I mention only to shew the different Notions of Honour in past Ages from what we find in our own degenerate Times; *James* the 4th of *Scotland*, in Defence of his antient Ally the *French* King, sent his Herald *Lyon* King at Arms to defy *Henry* and denounce War against him, in Case he did not immediately desist from molesting his good Friend the King of *France*; *Henry* having given Audience to the Herald, dismiss'd him with a considerable Reward and a Contempt of his Message: This is a much nobler Method of making War than by a Violation of the Law of Nations to steal into one another's Territories, without any previous Declarations of Hostility, or the least Complaint of an Injury, and at the same Time with the most solemn Asseverations deny by the Mouths of their Ministers any such Intention; such

such is the Difference between little Burghers in a Commonwealth and generous Princes, who think the Preservation of their Honour the chiefest Support of their Majesty; the King of *Scot*, to be as good as his Word, invades *England*, but was defeated by the Earl of *Surrey*, and slain at the Battle of *Flodden*; this being the Third King of *Scotland* either kill'd or taken Prisoner in the Invasion of *England* since the Conquest, which Consideration one would think should make *Buchanan* not brag so much of his Countrymen's frequent Victories over the *English*.

Henry having taken these two Towns returns Triumphant, after a Consumption of more Treasure in this one Campaign, than some of his Ancestors spent in the Reduction of the whole Dutchy of *Normandy*; this War and his other riotous Expences reduc'd him to great Necessities, the Sum of One Million Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds, which was left in ready Money by his

Father, being all wasted, besides the constant Revenues of the Crown; this forc'd him to call a Parliament, who seem'd willing to supply the Necessities of the Government with as much as they thought reasonable, but when Cardinal *Wolsey* demanded 800000*l.* which he propos'd should be rais'd by a Tax of four Shillings in the Pound; they fell into great Heats and Debates; nevertheless at last, to comply with the King's Desires as far as they could, they agreed to two Shillings, which the People no sooner heard but they threaten'd to tear their Representatives to pieces for being so free of their Money; by which we may see the different Tempers of our Ancestors and Ourselves; who are so much better Subjects as lately to Petition for heavier Taxes, after having given for so many Years together twice that Sum; so far can a Spirit of Faction transport Mankind even to punish themselves,

Henry

Henry forc'd to be contented with this
 Supply, carry'd on the War against
France till both Sides equally weary de-
 sir'd Peace, which was soon after rati-
 fy'd, when *Francis* the First of *France*
 was releas'd from his Captivity in *Spain*;
 this Peace with *France* made ill Blood
 between *Henry* and the Emperor *Charles*
 the Fifth, which Misunderstanding
 partly laid the Foundation of those
 Disorders that have so much blacken'd
 the Memory of this Prince; for his
 Picque to the Emperor, and his own
 vicious Inclinations together, first made
 him hearken to any Notion of the un-
 lawfulness of the Marriage between
 himself and *Catharine* of *Aragon*, who
 was his Brother's Widow, and Aunt to
Charles the Fifth, for it is very uncon-
 ceivable that such a Scruple should be
 real after 20 Years Cohabitation, the
 lawfulness of this Marriage having been
 sufficiently canvass'd before, when they
 thought it necessary to have a Dispen-
 sation from the Pope: 'Tis thought
 that

that *Wolsey* first put this Notion into his Head to gratify his Revenge on the Emperor for making him miss the Papal Chair; others say his Confessor *Longland* first started this Matter, and that the *French* made some Scruple in this Point, when a Match was propos'd between the King's Daughter *Mary*, born of this Marriage, and the Duke of *Orleans*.

But the most probable Opinion is, that this voluptuous Prince rather follow'd the Dictates of his Lust than any real Emotions of Conscience, for he had already fix'd his Affections on *Anne Boleyn*, who had been bred with his Sister in the Court of *France*; the Charms of this new Mistress made him so much more dislike his Wife, the Disparity of whose Age had render'd her not very agreeable at first, for she was somewhat older than *Henry*, so that it is highly probable the Desire of a younger Bride made him so earnestly sue for a Divorce, in which Affair the Delays and Shuffling of the Court of *Rome* made him
so

so impatient, that in Revenge he threw off the Obedience to that See, and was divorc'd by *Cranmer* at Home, made Archbishop of *Canterbury* for this Purpose; thus was *Catharine of Aragon*, after so long a Cohabitation, and being the Mother of three Children, repudiated, a Woman of such exemplary Piety, and other great Virtues, as gave a Reputation to the *Spanish Wives*.

At the same time *Henry*, not able to mortify his Passion any longer, privately married *Anne of Bolen*, who was a young Woman rather agreeable than handsome, but of greater Beauty than Reputation, having been bred in a Court that was too debauch'd for Virtue long to subsist unblemish'd; but tho' she might be innocent in the Main, she was certainly not of so clear a Character as a certain Author would insinuate, who has writ a tedious History of the great Revolution in the Church at this Time; but we must not too implicitly rely on the Credit of a Person

Person whose Disingenuity in that Book, by a false Quotation of Records, in inserting some Words and leaving out others, as they would make for his Purpose, besides the Partiality of his other Writings, has justly sunk him in the Opinion of all Good Men long ago, nor is he now less despicable in the Eyes of his own Party; so that all the Dirt that he has flung on Messieurs *Maimbourg* and *Varillas*, may be justly retorted on himself, if any thing could mortify a Man of so much Assurance, as to pick out those very Crimes to charge others, of which his own Conscience must needs tell him he is so guilty himself; this is a very unaccountable Weakness, but common to all disingenuous Natures.

This Marriage of the King with *Anne Bolen* was the Ruin of *Wolsey*, who, if he did influence him in the Scruple of his first Marriage, never design'd to carry that Affair so far as that the King should marry that Lady, who was suspected

spected of *Lutheranism*; the King perceiving that the Cardinal juggled with him in this Matter, and underhand retarded his Divorce in the Court of *Rome*, with a Design to prevent his Marriage, began to be dissatisfy'd with him, and at last threw him to the Ground with as much Levity as he had rais'd him before above the Condition of any Subject.

In this Revolution of his Fortune, *Wolfey* found very little Compassion, having disgusted the World by his Pride and Insolence when in Power, a Fault almost inseparable from the Meanness of his Birth and Profession; but the greatest Obloquy that he lay under was occasion'd by his procuring the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the last Duke of that Noble Family; this gave Occasion to the Emperor *Charles*, according to the Wit of that Age, to make a wretched Clinch, in saying, *That a Butcher's Dog had worried the fairest Buck in Christendom.*

Wolfey,

Wolsey, thus deserted by the King, was expos'd to the Malice of his Enemies, who charg'd him in Parliament with several Articles containing High Misdemeanors, one of which is very remarkable, *That having the French Pox upon him, he presum'd to breach in his Highness's Face*; either that Distemper was more infectious, or Majesty more sacred in those Days than ours, for if such a Presumption was as criminal now, the *Levés* and *Couchées* of Princes would not be so very much crowded.

The Fall of *Wolsey* gave Rise to *Cromwell*, who was his Creature and Servant, his wonderful Fidelity to his Master, whom he so well defended when attack'd by the House of Commons, first recommended him to the King, who rais'd him soon after from an equal Meanness of Birth with that of his first Patron, to the Dignity of Earl of *Essex* and Vicar General of *England*. This *Cromwell* was *Henry's* chief Instrument in

in demolishing Abbeyes and Religious Houses, to which Attempt the King was first encourag'd by the Example of *Wolsey*, who had suppress'd some little Foundations to endow his Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*. It is certain there were very great Abuses in these Places at this Time, which requir'd a Reformation, but on the other Hand it is very ill Surgery to lop a Limb while there is any Hopes of a Cure; there is no human Institution but will be liable to some Errors and Inconveniencies, but if the Good on the other Hand out ballances the Ill, we ought so to distinguish as to preserve one and remove the other; these Places were first founded by the Piety of our Ancestors, with a charitable Design, to give a Retreat to such Persons as had a Mind to detach themselves from the Affairs of the World, and dedicate their Lives to the Service of God in a State of Quiet and Devotion; by these People were the Hungry fed, the Naked cloath'd, and the

the Dead buried, with all other Acts of Charity which seem so essential to the Spirit of Christianity; but to all this may be objected, that tho' these were the Designs of the first Founders, these Houses by the Corruption of Time were degenerated into Nurseries of Sloath and Lewdness; however, tho' there might be some Instances of this Nature, it doth not follow that an Institution should be abolish'd for the Abuse of it, any more than that there should be no Inns to receive honest Travellers because some publick Houses harbour Thieves and Highwaymen; a severe Visitation might have corrected these Abuses, without turning loose so many Religious into a World which by the most solemn Vows they had abandon'd before, and in which the greatest Part were unable to subsist for Want of an Education to have qualify'd them for other Professions; but it is no Wonder if the looser Part of these People themselves willingly embrac'd this Release from their

Vows,

Vows, Mankind being generally more prone to Pleasure than Mortification and Pennance; it is no Wonder if a great many thought it more agreeable to lie in a warm Bed, and in the Arms of a beautiful Wife, than in a Cell on a Mat, with Hair Shirts and Midnight Discipline; if these poor Orders have mistook the Way to Heaven, which they take so much Pains to find, all we can say is, that they are very unfortunate to deny themselves the Comforts of this World, and at last not meet the Rewards of the next.

To the Want of these Retreats, especially Nunneries, in a great Measure are to be ascrib'd the several Inconveniences we lie under at this Day; especially since the frequent Marriages of the meaner and indigent Clergy, who, having no Temporal Estates to support their Families after their Death, leave their Wives and Daughters destitute and necessitous, who being too proud, or lazy, to work, often take ill Courses

R

to

to subsist; all which might be prevented, if there were Places to receive and support them in a vertuous and comfortable Way of Life; from this Defect results the Lewdness of these abandoned Times, more than from any Viciousness in the Temper or Constitutions of the *English*, since we so seldom find these Disorders in Women of Birth, Fortune, and Education; while others in ill Circumstances generally sacrifice themselves to their Vanity and Necessities, the Desire of fine Cloaths, and to live voluptuously with Splendour, having too strong an Influence on the Virtue and Constancy of a young Woman, without a great Guard of Principle; especially when these Temptations meet with that Sweetness of Temper, that Softness, and Goodnature, which is, or should be, essential to the Charming Sex.

Henry, having glutted his Avarice with these Spoils, which in the Main did him no great Good, the greatest
Part

Part of these Lands being sold for almost nothing, or else given to the rapacious Courtiers, relaps'd into his old Fits of Cruelty, of which his new Wife *Anne Bolen* must now be the Object; whether or no he really believ'd the Crime with which he charg'd her, Adultery, or else grown weary of her Embraces, remov'd her to make Way for another more agreeable, is uncertain; however, on a sudden she was committed to the Tower, and soon after arraign'd, condemn'd, and beheaded; upon which he married *Jane Seymour*, by whom he had *Edward* the Sixth, which Son, some report, he brought into the World with as much Violence as he us'd to send his Wives out, by commanding the Belly of his Mother to be ripp'd when her Delivery was desperate; but this Story wanting Authority to support it must not be affirmed.

After the Death of *Jane Seymour*, he married *Anne of Cleve*, Daughter to the

Duke of that Name in *Germany*, with whom, tho' he bedded constantly for six Months, he never consummated the Marriage, and at last most shamefully repudiated her: The next bold Woman who ventur'd to be his Wife was the Lady *Catharine Howard*, who soon after underwent the Fate of *Anne Bolen*, being accus'd of the same Crime, of which she averr'd her Innocence with the most solemn Protestations at her Death, tho' she own'd herself criminal before Marriage; upon this pass'd a most absurd and unreasonable Act of Parliament, to make it Treason for any Woman, not a Virgin, to marry the King, by which any pretended Maid, who had the Misfortune to be lik'd by *Henry*, was reduc'd to the Dilemma of spoiling her Fortune by accusing herself, which is contrary to the Law of Nature, or else to venture her Neck in Case of a Discovery; but his Inconstancy was not greater to his Mistresses than his Favourites, of which Levity
in

in the King's Nature *Cromwell* some time before had tasted the Effects, who falling into his Displeasure on the Account of making that Match with *Anne of Cleve*, was attainted by Parliament and executed.

After this follow'd nothing but daily Executions, the most Noble Blood being pour'd like Water on the Ground by the Lust and Cruelty of an inhuman Prince, who seem'd now to have his Conscience fear'd, and to thirst the more for Blood the more he drank, which when we consider, What an Idea must we form of this profligate Age, when Parliaments were so devoted to attain, Judges to condemn, and Juries to find guilty the most Innocent, and sometimes the most deserving, at the beck of such a brutal Tyrant, whose Fury equally rag'd against all Ranks, Sexes, and Conditions? No Greatness of Blood could protect the Nobility, no Reverence to the Sanctity of their Profession, the most Holy Prelates, nor

the Respect owing to the tender Sex; the most innocent Women, from being made Objects of his Cruelty; for *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, his own near Kinswoman, and the only surviving Person of the Name of *Plantagenet*, Daughter to the Duke of *Clarence*, and Sister to that Earl of *Warwick* who was so unjustly put to Death by *Harry* the Seventh, was arraign'd and condemn'd for no other Crime but writing an affectionate Letter to her Son *Reginald Poel*: This Lady, not more illustrious for her high Birth than Piety, and other extraordinary Virtues, not thinking fit to submit to her unjust and infamous Sentence, struggled with the Executioner on the Scaffold, upon which she was forcibly dragg'd down to the Block by the Hands of a Russian entangled in her hoary Locks, made venerable by almost eighty Years, a Spectacle of Horror which would have rais'd Compassion in all Breasts susceptible

tible of noble and generous Impressions.

The valiant and noble Earl of Surrey, notwithstanding his great Services, underwent the same Fate; soon after which the Tyrant died himself, unpitied even by his own Creatures, and execrated by all Good Men, having own'd himself to his Confessor, That he had never spar'd Man in his Rage, nor Woman in his Lust: The undisturb'd Reign, and peaceable Death of this cruel Prince in his Bed, shews the unaccountable Temper of the *English*, who have most commonly in all Ages been insolent and mutinous to their mild, lawful, and virtuous Princes; and on the other Hand, fawning and submissive to Tyrants and Usurpers; otherwise it is unconceivable that *Harry* the Eighth should die in his Bed, and *Charles* the First upon a Scaffold, a Prince whose transcendant Virtues, so far above the rest of his Rank, have added a Dignity to human Nature, and

given a new Lustre to the Majesty of crown'd Heads: This King left his Sixth Wife the Lady *Catharine Parre* a Widow, who happen'd to die a natural Death, because she had the good Fortune so soon to loose her Husband.

Edward the Sixth was *Edward the 6th*, but nine Years old upon 1547, the Death of his Father, by whom he was left under the Guardianship of 28 Persons, but to avoid the Inconvenience of so many Governors, the young King's Uncle the Earl of *Hertford* was chosen Protector, and soon after made Duke of *Somerset*; this young Prince first establish'd the Reform'd Religion, to which his Father had open'd the Way by annulling the Pope's Supremacy, tho' that Prince himself died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, if in any; if this King had reign'd any considerable Time the Hierarchy of the Church would probably have been destroy'd, and the National Religion reduc'd to the Form of *Geneva*,

neva, for in this Reign the Bishoprick of
Durham was dissolv'd, and most of the
 others robb'd of their Lands by *Dudley*,
Somerset, and the other Courtiers, the
 first of whom, tho' he died a *Roman*
 Catholick, made no Scruple to swallow
 Church Lands; so that it is not un-
 likely that these Men, whose insatia-
 ble Avarice was yet unglutted with the
 Spoils of so many Religious Houses,
 would too easily have work'd on the
 Zeal and pliant Nature of this young
 Prince to have given away the Lands of
 the Church, on Pretence of a purer
 Reformation; which impious Design
 about one hundred Years afterward in-
 volv'd three flourishing Kingdoms in a
 dismal Civil War and Confusion for
 nineteen Years together. To the imma-
 ture Death of this Prince, therefore,
 the Church of *England* at this Day owes
 the Preservation of her Revenues, and
 the Decency of a comely Worship in
 the Service of God; for *Somerset* him-
 self was a *Zuinglian*, and the rest of the
 Great

Great Men at this Time inclin'd more to those rigid Principles of *Calvinism*, which have disgrac'd the Reformation, than the present Constitution of the Church of England.

Edward had not been long under the Tuition of *Somerſet*, before the Artifices of *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* began to make a fatal Division between his two Uncles, the Protector and the Admiral; this Miſunderſtanding was firſt created by the Folly and Vanity of their two Wives, the Protector's ſeeing her Husband the firſt Perſon next to the King, thought ſhe ought to ſhare the ſame Preheminence in her Sex, and take Place of the Queen Dowager, who had married the Admiral, who was the Protector's younger Brother; this Diſpute between the Women made ill Blood and drew the Huſbands by Degrees into the Quarrel, upon which *Somerſet* picqu'd, gave Way to the Accuſations againſt his Brother, which falſe ſtep ended in their mutual Ruin by
weakening

weakening their Interests; for the Admiral had no sooner lost his Head by a Warrant under the Hand of his Brother, but *Northumberland* began to form a Faction at Court to undermine the Protector himself, which Point he carried at last by dispossessing him first of his Authority, and then his Life, on a Statute of his own making; for being charg'd with a Design to kill *Northumberland*, he was found guilty and beheaded: Some are of Opinion he might have been sav'd by pleading his Clergy, but whether he did not know that, or else that this Favour is not allowable in the Case of this Felony, he suffer'd the Law.

Dudley, having thus remov'd those who could the most oppose his ambitious Designs, perswaded the young King to destroy his Father's Testament, and disinherit his two Sisters, by leaving the Crown to the Daughters of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to the eldest of whom he had purposely married his

Fourth

Fourth Son the Lord *Guilford Dudley*; and now he thought it high Time the King should live no longer, for he died soon after in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and the sixth of his Reign, a very hopeful young Prince, of whom the Famous *Cardan*, who saw and personally convers'd with him, has given us a very great Character both as to his natural and acquir'd Parts, which he had improv'd above his Years in all manner of Manly Erudition: The Precipitation of his Death, if not immediately caus'd, was generally ascrib'd to the Ambition of *Northumberland*, who had plac'd his Son the Lord *Robert*, afterwards the famous Earl of *Leicester*, about his Person, for after that Time the King was observ'd never to enjoy his Health.

How little Power the Testament of the King has in the Disposal of the Crown, will be seen in the short and mock Reign of the Lady *Jane Grey*, which lasted but ten Days; for tho' the

the two Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were legitimated and illegitimated according to the Power of the prevailing Faction, or the Caprice of their Father, notwithstanding that, they both successively ascended in due Order the Throne, according to the Prescription of the Laws and Custom of *England*; so little at this Time regarded were all such irregular Proceedings, which, not establish'd originally upon a Foundation of Right and Justice, were no longer in Force than Power and Faction could support them.

The Princess *Mary*, eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Eighth, by *Catharine* of *Aragon*, was remote in the Country when her Brother died, which gave *Northumberland* an Opportunity to enforce the Will of King *Edward* and proclaim the Lady *Jane Grey* Queen of *England*, a young Lady of extraordinary Qualifications above her Sex and Age, who, in Complaisance to her Father, accepted a Crown

Crown which she had Greatness of Mind otherwise to have despis'd: Upon this *Mary* writes a Letter to the Council to demand her Right, to which the Lords return her an insolent and peremptory Answer, That she was illegitimated by Parliament, and had no Right; after which they send the Duke of *Northumberland* with an Army to suppress her, while at the same Time the Gentry of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* flocking to the Princess, proclaim her at *Norwich*; this put the Council into a great Consternation, and made every one endeavour to shift for himself, by making his own Peace: Here we shall see an Example of the basest Treachery that ever was committed by Men, who are distinguish'd by particular Marks of Honour from the rest of their Fellow Subjects; the Duke of *Northumberland*, when he was to march against the Princess, began to make some Scruples, apprehending indeed what afterward came to pass; upon this the whole Privy Council,

Council, by the most solemn Affeuerations, declar'd they would live and die with him, yet these same abandon'd Men, by the Time that *Northumberland* was arriv'd at *Cambridge*, revolt from the Lady *Jane* and proclaim the Princess *Mary*; but what is more unaccountably base, the same Persons afterwards sat upon him as his Judges, and condemn'd him to die for a Treason which they themselves had commission'd him to act; such was the End of all the ambitious Projects of this Great *Dudley*, who, though he was one of the most wicked and flagitious Men of his Time, yet he deserv'd a fairer Trial, and more proper Judges than those, who, guilty of the same Crime, should have been Companions of his Fate.

With *Dudley* were beheaded two more, which was all the Blood shed at this Time and upon this Occasion, which is a convincing Proof of the merciful Disposition in this Queen, who was by much the least inclin'd to Cruelty

Cruelty of all the *Tudor* Race, *Edward* the Sixth was so very young when he died, we cannot be certain what he might have prov'd at last, but we shall seldom find an Example of so much Goodness, as to let a Rival in Empire live who had been proclaim'd Queen, and acted as such, by which she had forfeited her Life; nevertheless *Mary* did not put the Lady *Jane* to Death in some Time, till the Folly and Ingratitude of her Father the Duke of *Suffolk*, by rising in Arms again, made the Life of his Daughter and the Safety of the Queen incompatible; upon which the poor Lady *Jane*, with her Husband the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, was beheaded; tho' the Queen had a great Inclination to save her, if Reasons of State had not render'd Mercy impracticable, the Necessity of this Justice being heighten'd by the Insurrection of *Wyat*, who at the same Time was in Arms against the Queen; so that we must not absolutely charge upon her the

the Death of so many poor People who suffer'd on Account of Religion; this was rather the Fault of the Constitution at this Time, than the Queen's Nature, the Secular Power being only the Executioner of the Ecclesiastical Sentence.

The Insurrection of *Wyat* being suppress'd, *Mary* proceeded in her Match with *Philip* Prince of *Spain*; in the next Parliament was restor'd the Supremacy of the Pope, in which Sessions the whole Nation by their Representatives receiv'd Absolution from the Hands of Cardinal *Pool*, and thus freed from the Schism, as they call'd it, were received into the Bosom of the Church; by this we may see the Levity and looser Principles of this profligate Age, who changed their Religion as often as their Prince; the Year after this Marriage there was great Hope of the Queen's Conception, which vanish'd at last in a Tympany; this Disappointment, together with an ill Habit of Body, increased by her Discontent for the Absence

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of Philip, the Loss of Calais to the French, and other concurrent Causes, made so deep an Impression on the Spirit of this Princess, as soon after short'n'd her Life, by flinging her into a Fever of which she died.

Elizabeth, the only surviving Heir of Henry the Eighth, succeeded according to Right and her Father's Testament, notwithstanding she had been bastardiz'd by Act of Parliament on the Disgrace of her Mother. As this Reign makes one of the greatest Figures in the English Story, so it is a Demonstration that the Fair Sex have a Genius equally capable of Government with Men, if they had the Advantages of the same Education; this Princess revers'd all that her Sister had done in Favour of the Roman Catholick Religion, which she abolish'd, and restor'd the Reform'd; in this Affair she proceeded gradually with great Prudence and Temper, by which Conduct she prevented the dangerous Consequences

quences of too hasty a Change! The first Step was to order that the Service of the Church should be read in the vulgar Tongue, after which she by Degrees abolish'd the Supremacy of the Pope, and assum'd that Title to herself, which at first seem'd a Jest to the rest of the World, by Reason of the Incapacity of her Sex for the Ministerial Function, tho' all this was done by Authority of Parliament, which was so necessary to give a Sanction to this Change, however she took some Measures at first which were equally illegal, tho' not so fatal as to one of her Successors; this was an assuming to herself, by Virtue of her Prerogative, a Power of dispensing with the Laws, for she remov'd the School-masters of *Eaton* and *Winchester* upon no other Pretence but because they were Catholics, and plac'd in their Room Protestants, before she had call'd any Parliament to repeal those Laws, which have made Popery the establish'd Religion of the

Country ; this Action was undoubtedly as arbitrary in this Queen, as the same Measures of the late King *James*; it being equally as great a Violation of the Constitution, for a Protestant Prince to dispense with Popish Laws, as for a Catholick with Protestant ; but such is the Partiality of Mankind to their own Cause, as to call the same Actions Crimes in their Enemies, which they reckon Virtues in their Friends.

This Change of Religion being quietly settled, Queen *Elizabeth* was solicited by her Parliaments to change her Condition, and give the People Hopes of Posterity to fill the Throne, which Propositions she always heard with Indignation, and rejected the Offers of several Princes, who aspir'd to her Bed; among whom her Brother-in-law, King *Philip*, was the first and most considerable, who, foreseeing the Objection that might arise from her being Sister to his former Wife, offer'd to procure a Dispensation from the Pope ; as a

Consent

Consent to this Proposal would have been an Acknowledgment of the Authority which she had abrogated, so it would also have confirm'd the Marriage of her Father with his first Wife Queen *Catharine*, and made her own Mother's unlawful; upon which this Proposal was rejected, as well as all other Pretensions: The Reasons that might engage this Princess to lead a single Life are uncertain, some think this Resolution proceeded from a boundless Thirst of Power, of which she could not find in her Heart to communicate a Share even to a Partner of her Bed; others say she was conscious of some natural Infirmities, which incapacitated her for such a State of Life; whatever the true Reason was, she reign'd with more Glory than with the greatest Partner in the Empire of the Universe, and had she not stain'd her other Virtues, by that infamous Conduct to the Queen of *Scots*, she had gone to the Grave with the Character

of being as Good, and Just, as she was Wife, and Great; but the Cruelty of her Father was a little too predominant in her Nature.

The first Occasion of drawing her Sword were the Troubles of Scotland, in which Affair the Measures she took did not so much redound to her Interest and Advantage, as they were destructive to her Honour and Conscience. How far one Prince may assist the Rebels of another, in Time of actual War, I leave to Civilians and Casuists to decide; but to raise and encourage Sedition among the Subjects of another Prince, with whom there is outwardly a good Understanding, is certainly a Violation of the Laws of Nations, and all that is Sacred between Man and Man; the Tumults in Scotland about Religion, so scandalous to the Reformation, gave an Opportunity to Queen Elizabeth to foment a Faction against the Queen of Scots, of whose Title to the Crown of England she was so jealous,

ious, for if the Marriage between her Father and *Anne of Boleyn* were not lawful, *Mary of Scotland* had undoubtedly a certain Right, to which she inopportunely laid Claim upon her Marriage with *Francis the Second*, by quartering the Arms of *England*; tho' this imprudent Conduct in the Queen of *Scots* might justly irritate and disgust *Elizabeth*, yet she had Reason to be satisfy'd afterward, when, upon a Treaty between them, the *Scotch* Queen renounced all Claim and Pretence to the Crown of *England*, during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; this was a greater Confirmation of her Title, than if it had never been disputed before, tho' at the same Time she refus'd to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, in which there were some Clauses relating to the Subjects of *Scotland*, in which *Elizabeth*, without any just Reason, would intermeddle.

The Queen of *Scots*, upon this Refusal, was deny'd Leave to pass thro' *England*

to her own Kingdom; but what was more ungenerous than this Denial, a Fleet was sent to intercept her in her Passage by Sea; but notwithstanding all the Vigilance of the *English*, in a great Fog she went by their Fleet undescry'd, and arriv'd safely in *Scotland*, where we cannot chuse but pity this poor Princess, who was now oblig'd to live among such lamentable Creatures as the *Scottish* Fanaticks, after having been bred in the politest Court of the Universe. She had not been long at Home, when the Ambition of her bastard Brother the Earl of *Murray*, on whom she herself had conferr'd that Title, began by his Artifices to lay the Foundations of all those Evils which involv'd this poor Princess in great Troubles the rest of her Life, and at last terminated in her final Destruction, all which Misfortunes were immediately owing to the unjust Politicks of Queen *Elizabeth*, who always underhand, and sometimes openly, abetted the Rebellion of *Mary's* Subjects,

Subjects, even when she most pretended to be her Friend and support her Cause, till at last she had reduc'd this unfortunate Queen to a Necessity of demanding that Protection which she had not the Generosity to give her.

For the Queen of Scots, after a Treatment in her own Country which fill'd the rest of Mankind with Horrour, thought she could fly no where so properly for Refuge, as to her Sister of England, whom Honour, Conscience, Good-nature, and Nearness of Blood, oblig'd to protect her; but the unhappy Queen was mistaken, she had only now escap'd from her own barbarous Subjects, to fall into more cruel and inhospitable Hands; the ill Usage of this Princess in both Kingdoms must give the rest of the World a strange Idea of our Barbarity, it being impossible such Beauty and Majesty in Distress could want Protection in any Country, where the

the Men were susceptible of Love, Honour, or Pity,

Mary was no sooner arriv'd in England but she sent a Letter to Elizabeth, in which she gave her an Account of her Circumstances, and begg'd her Protection, desiring at the same Time to be admitted to her Presence, that she might have an Opportunity to clear herself from the slanderous Aspersions, with which her Enemies had loaded her, of these the chief were Knox and Buchanan, the first of whom was a turbulent Preacher and mutinous Enthusiast, the other would have been the greatest Writer among the Moderns, if his Sincerity, the most necessary Quality in an Historian, had been equal to his Genius and Capacity; but notwithstanding he had so much endeavour'd to blacken the Character of his Mistress, by the most impudent Falshoods that Disingenuity and Malice could invent, when he came to die, which is a Time, if ever, one may venture to believe even

even a *Scotch* Fanatick, he recanted all that he had said derogatory to the Honour of that injur'd Queen. This Request, tho' so very reasonable, *Elizabeth* thought fit to deny, but the true Reason was, the Envy she bore to the Beauty of *Mary*, to whom she was unwilling to be a Foil by being seen at the same Time; the Desire of being admired, as it is the most common Passion in the Fair Sex, so it was the most deeply rooted in *Elizabeth*, which Vanity was supported by the Insincerity of her Looking-glasses; but notwithstanding the good Opinion which *Elizabeth* had of herself, the Queen of *Scots* was too incontestable a Rival for such a Dispute, being as much above her in the Empire of Beauty, as below her in that of Fortune, to these Charms of her Person, and the natural Vivacity of her Wit, she had added the Ornament of Letters, a great Knowledge in Books and foreign Languages, being Mistress not only of the Living, but the

the Dead ; with all other Qualifications not only uncommon to her Sex, but even admir'd in Men, who make those Accomplishments their only Business.

These distinguishing Charms were none of the least Causes of *Mary's* Misfortunes, by first making ill Blood in the Heart of *Elizabeth* towards her: In Confirmation of this Opinion, *Melvin* tells us a Story that is not a little ridiculous, That being ask'd by the Queen how her Sister of *Scotland* danc'd, he reply'd, except your Majesty, the best in the World, which she taking only for a Compliment to herself, shew'd a visible Change in the Air of her Countenance, and immediately retir'd into her Closet, and, as he says, wept for two Hours ; how he came to be acquainted with that Secret, I cannot inform the Reader: By this we may see how liable we are to be mistaken, when we judge of Causes and Effects by the outward Appearance of Things, whereas, could we dive into the secret Recesses of

of Man's Mind, we should find some of our most hidden and ridiculous Passions give Birth to the most important Events, and govern the World.

The Queen of *Scots*, unable to get Admittance, now plainly saw what she must expect at the Hands of a cunning and jealous Woman, who had given her civil Invitations, and so many Promises of Protection, only to draw her within her Power: But tho' the World was generally so abandoned at this Time, there were some few of the *English* who had Compassion for distress'd Innocence, among the Nobility the chief were the Duke of *Norfolk*, one of the most considerable Subjects of *Europe* at this Time, the Earl of *Sussex*, and *Leicester* himself, who, tho' one of the worst of Men, pretended at least to be ashamed of this infamous Conduct; but the Generosity of the Duke had the more fatal Consequences on the Life and Fortune of that worthy Nobleman, who, impos'd on by the Craft and Cunning

ning of *Leicester*, was drawn into a Design of Marriage with the Queen of Scots; *Murray* himself had first proposed this Match to the Duke, with a Design to finish the Ruin of the Queen his Mistress with *Elizabeth*, whose jealous Nature he knew would entertain the last Apprehension of such an Alliance; this Amour was carried on by secret Intrigues, and several Love-Letters to Queen Mary, all which were constantly intercepted, and came to the Hands of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Tho' the Duke might be hurried by his Passions of Love and Ambition to pursue this Match with some Warmth and Earnestness, however he never design'd to accomplish that Affair without the Queen's Knowledge, and Leave first obtain'd, in Order to which he desir'd *Leicester* to procure her Consent, which he promis'd to do, tho' he never design'd to serve the Duke, for he daily deceiv'd him, by pretending a Want of Opportunity; upon which the Duke
of

of *Norfolk* resolv'd to speak himself, but was prevented by the fresh Assurances that *Leicester* gave him of performing his Promises immediately; but *Leicester*, instead of managing this Affair with Sincerity, when he saw a proper Juncture of ill Circumstances for the Duke, finish'd his Ruin; for observing the Queen grow daily more jealous of the Duke's design'd Marriage, which was no Secret to her, and at the same Time alarm'd with the Noise of a Rebellion in the North, he thought this the most proper Time to make his villanous Designs succeed, when the Queen's Fears thus heighten'd made her the more susceptible of any Impressions; to this Purpose the perfidious *Leicester* counterfeits himself sick, and pretends to be in the last Danger, upon which the Queen, who had always a great Affection for him, came to make him a Visit, when being alone together, *Leicester*, after several Grimaces, and counterfeited Sighs, on Pre-
tence

tence of discharging his Conscience, sets forth the dangerous Consequences of this Amour between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, not letting *Elizabeth* know that he had been commission'd by the Duke to ask her Consent, but made as if this Discovery had meerly proceeded from a Sense of her Danger, and his own Compunction, and Penitence.

This Trick had its design'd Success; *Elizabeth*, with all the Fear, and Jealousy of her Sex, swallows the Bait, and sends the Duke to the Tower, soon after which he was condemn'd, and executed. This *Thomas Howard* Duke of Norfolk had the vastest Demesnes of any Subject ever in *England*, which gave him an Occasion to say at his Trial, That his own private Patrimony was greater than the Revenues of the Crown of *Scotland*: All this vast Estate was given away among the hungry Courtiers, without Regard to the Innocence of his Children.

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This Example of Perfidy will give the World a Character of *Leicester*, who had all the Ambition and ill Principles of his Father *Northumberland*, for he broke the Neck of his Wife down Stairs to make Room in his Bed, when he should have the Happiness to accomplish his Designs on Queen *Elizabeth*, the Hopes of which had made him obstruct the Match, underhand, which *Elizabeth* had proposed between the Queen of *Scots* and himself, who prefer'd the happy Grandeur of his own plain Mistress, to the unfortunate Beauty of the most Charming Woman then alive: But *Leicester* was not alone in this Court, which had the most wicked Ministry that ever was known in any Reign.

After this, Queen *Elizabeth* began to exercise great Severity on the *English* Roman Catholicks, to which she was instigated by *Leicester*, *Walsingham*, and others, who, having already tasted the Sweetness of Confiscations, design'd to

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make that Party desperate by ill Usage, in Hopes they would rebel, and forfeit their Estates; but when Truth enough could not be found against them, *Walsingham*, by counterfeit Letters, and Confessions extorted by the Pains and Terrours of the Rack, tumultuated the People with chimerical Dangers, only to prepare them for the intended Murder of the Queen of *Scotland*, in whose Behalf the Remonstrances from the several Courts of *Europe*, join'd to the Condescensions of this poor Princess, who offer'd to sign a Chart *blanche*, and ratify whatever should be demanded, were all to no Purpose; nor was there indeed any just ground to hope for her Liberty, after the Measures that Queen *Elizabeth* had lately taken, by which she convinc'd the World of her ill Intentions to *Mary*, by suppressing the small Remnant of a Party who adhered to her in *Scotland*, for she assisted *Morton* with Men and Canon in the Reduction of *Edenburgh* Castle, which

was

was defended by some gallant Men; who, in so general a Corruption, retain'd a Sense of their Honour and Duty; these Brave Men, compell'd to surrender, were sacrific'd to the Revenge of *Morton*, who was made Regent by the Interest and Power of *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding the whole World knew how great a Hand that Nobleman had in the Assassination of the late King, nor was she less concern'd to save his Life, when by the divine Justice he was afterwards brought to condign Punishment for that horrid Murder, which he own'd at his Death; the forward Appearance of *Elizabeth*, in Behalf of a Man condemned for so flagitious a Crime, gave her Enemies an Occasion to affirm, that she was not unacquainted with the Design of that Murder; but however, she made herself a Party, and contracted a Share of the Guilt, in supporting the known Assassines to the very last; but we shall have the less Reason by and by to wonder at any

Thing she did to *Darnley*, when we see what an Outrage will be committed on the Person of his unfortunate Widow, whose Catastrophe now approach'd.

The Emissaries and Creatures of *Wal-singham*, who was the most deeply dipped in the Blood of this Princess, had inveigled several Catholicks and others into a Design of rescuing the Queen of *Scots* by Force of Arms, for this *Babington* and others were executed; the People frightened, and alarm'd with this Conspiracy, they thought it a proper Time to bring on the Tragedy which they had been so long preparing, at first they were at a Loss on what Statute to indite her, that of the 25th of *Edward* the Third not laying hold of her Case, they resolv'd to proceed on a Statute made in this Reign, some Time before, for this very Purpose; but the Queen of *Scots*, asserting her Sovereignty, and Independance, refus'd to acknowledge the Authority of any Earthly Court, till threaten'd to be
condemn'd

condemn'd for Contumacy, after having in vain requested to be heard before the Queen in Parliament, she submitted to her Trial, at which Time she confess'd, *That thro' Despair of her Liberty, she had endeavour'd to make her Escape, in which she thought herself justified by the Laws of Nature, and Self-preservation; but as to any Design against the Person or Authority of the Queen, with the most solemn Asseverations she declared her Innocence.* Nevertheless the barbarous Delegates proceeded to the infamous Sentence, and that the whole Nation might share the Guilt, it was contriv'd afterward that the Parliament should solicit the Queen of Scots's Death, which *Elizabeth* was to deny several Times, till at last she should seem to comply, as if tir'd with the repeated Remonstrances of her People; the House of Lords particularly distinguished themselves in this Affair by an Address against the Queen of Scots, worded in a very ridiculous Cant, setting forth

the Judgments of God on *Saul*, for sparing the Life of *Agag*, and on *Ahab* for *Benhadad*; thus were the Scriptures perverted to destroy an innocent Woman: This odd Petition, much fitter for Fanatick Tub-preachers, than Cavaliers, and Men of Honour, must give us a strange Idea of the Nobility at this Time.

Now follow'd the Second Act of Hypocrisy in Queen *Elizabeth*, thro' a Shame to justify what she had so little Conscience as to command, the Queen of *Scots* must be executed without her Knowledge; but the Person must be very ignorant of the World, who could be impos'd on by such a Shift; every Body, who is acquainted with the Government, and Constitutions of *England*, knows that the Privy Council, and the Ministers of the Law, durst not proceed in any Affair of that Nature, especially in so unprecedented a Case, without the Authority of the soverain Power; but supposing a Possibility of
that

that extraordinary Conduct in the Privy Council, it is unconceivable that Nobody in the mean while should acquaint the Queen with what was transacted, who had Time enough to have countermanded the Order for the Execution, if she had inclin'd to Mercy; however *Davison* the Secretary, to blind the World, as if he had acted on his own Head, was sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber to pay 10000*l.* Fine, and to suffer Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure, but underhand the Fine was remitted, and he privately rewarded; tho' at his Trial he made it appear in his own Defence, notwithstanding he was as tender as he could of the Queen's Honour, that he had acted nothing in this Affair, but for what he had plain Insinuations of her Pleasure, tho' not positive and direct Commands; so that the whole Juggle is plain by *Davison's* own Vindication, who was brought into the Office meerly to serve this Turn.

It is reported that *Leicester*, who, tho' he had no more Conscience than the rest, was a Man of better Sense, came to the Queen, and conjur'd her not to commit so infamous an Action, which would strike at herself, and affront the common Majesty of Crown'd Heads; upon which the Queen ask'd him, *What she should do in this Case? Send an Apothecary, Madam, (reply'd Leicester) and not a Hangman; if she must die, let it be done with Decency:* Prudence would certainly have rather follow'd this Advice, for if she had Authority to put her to Death, the Manner, as to the conscientious Part, was a Thing indifferent; this would have prevented the ill Consequences of so dangerous a Precedent, which as *England* only could give, so the horrid Example could be follow'd in no other Country beyond the Bounds of our unfortunate Island, for when it was debated among the Regicides, what they should do with the Person of this Queen's Grand-

Grandson *Charles* the First, *Harry Martin* propos'd to serve him as they had his *Scotch* Grandmother before.

The Manner of this Queen's Death; her Resignation to the Will of God, her Greatness of Spirit, which seem'd supported by some other Power, than the common Assistance of natural Courage, have recommended her Name to the Veneration of future Ages, and cover'd the Authors of this barbarous Cruelty with indelible Infamy and Reproach; the Persons who were commission'd to see the Execution perform'd were the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, and *Cumberland*, one of whom had so divested himself of common Humanity as to toss up his Cap, and Huzza, at the cutting off the most charming Head that ever wore a Crown: But this was not the only Circumstance of Barbarity shewn to this Princess, they carried their Cruelty to such a Degree as to deny her the Assistance of her ghostly Father in her last Agony, a Favour not
refus'd

refus'd by Christian Charity to the most common Malefactor, but they resolv'd to be all of a Piece, and shew no more Mercy to her Soul than Body.

Such was the deplorable Fate of *Mary*, Soverain Queen of *Scotland*, and Dowager of *France*, in a Country, whither she was invited by the most solemn Assurances of Protection, Honour, and Safety, all which were violated, first by an Imprisonment of nineteen Years, and afterwards by an infamous Death: This unparallell'd Action justly fill'd with Horrour and Resentment all the other Princes in *Europe*, who had in vain solicited her Cause.

In the mean while *Elizabeth*, conscious of the Obloquy she had contracted by this Cruelty, pretended to resign herself to Horrour, and Contrition, for she drove her Counsellors from her Presence, and seem'd inconsolable, by abstaining from Meat, and Light, for a Time; she writ a Letter to the King of *Scots* to excuse the
Death

Death of his Mother, by laying the Blame on her Ministers, who, she pretended, had acted in this Affair without her Knowledge; *James* the Sixth, tho' at first he would not see the Messenger, and seem'd full of Resentment for this Indignity offer'd to himself in the Person of his Mother, however by Degrees he mollify'd, and at last contracted a firm Friendship with her by an Easiness and Good-nature, which have been so fatally Hereditary to his Family.

But notwithstanding, a great deal of this pretended Sorrow was nothing but Grimace, and Hypocrisy, it is certain that upon cooler Thoughts *Elizabeth* felt great Remorse of Conscience for this Cruelty, insomuch that she never afterward enjoy'd the same Quiet of Mind as before, being sensible how much her Reputation suffer'd on this Account.

The Pretence of revenging this universal Affront, gave a Colour to the
Spaniard

Spaniard in his design'd Invasion of *England*, which Attempt happen'd soon after, in the wonderful Year 88 ; when we consider this stupendious Design, the Vastness of the Preparations, in which three Years were consum'd, the Greatness of the Armament, both as to Number, and Largeness of the Ships, on which 19000 Landmen were embark'd, with all manner of Warlike Provisions proper for such an Expedition, which was supported by the Purse, and Puissance, of the greatest Monarch at this Time in the Universe, we cannot sufficiently adore the divine Goodness in frustrating this Attempt, and rescuing our Ancestors from the Hands of the worst Masters, and most cruel People under the Sun ; for if the Prince of *Parma*, Governor of the *Spanish* Netherlands, had once made a Descent with 50000 Veteran Troops join'd to the 19000 *Spaniards* on Board, the Fate of *England* in Probability had been decided, and we at this Day a
Province

Province to *Spain*, notwithstanding any Defence that could be made by the raw Militia encamp'd at *Tilbury*; for it is an Observation worthy to be remark'd, that notwithstanding the Inhabitants of this Island have in all Ages been Brave in their Persons, and Tenacious of their Liberty to the last Extremity, however, by an unaccountable Fatality, this Country has always been subdu'd by every Nation, who once set Foot on Shoar with a form'd Design of Conquest; witness the successful Invasions first of *Romans*, then *Saxons*, then *Danes*, and lastly *Normans*.

The Defeat of this vast Armada brought the *English* into as much Reputation, as the *Spaniard* into Contempt, whose ill Success in this Expedition gave the first Blow to that overgrown Monarchy, whose boundless Ambition, supported by so great Power, was justly grown formidable to the rest of their Neighbours.

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, elated with this unexpected Success, pursu'd her good Fortune, and, not contented to repel her Enemies, follow'd them to their own Doors, and carried the Terror of her Arms to *Spain* itself, where she shew'd that Nation a more successful Way of Invasion by taking *Cadix* with a Fleet, and Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, who succeeded *Leicester* in her Favour, and was thought to lie the nearest her Heart of any of her Minions; this young Nobleman, Beautiful and Brave in his Person, elated by the Favours of his Mistress, could endure, thro' an Insolence and Fierceness in his Temper, no Rivals in Power, and Authority; this made him, by fomenting a Sedition, and all the Arts of Popularity, endeavour to remove his Enemies *Rawleigh*, and *Cecil*, who were of the contrary Faction to his Interest; for this Behaviour being chastis'd by the Queen, he grew so impatient, and desperate, as to fly into open Rebellion,
for

for which Crime he was at last put to Death, after a great Struggle, and Reluctance in the Breast of the Queen, who could hardly consent to the Death of a Person for whom once she had so tender an Affection. The Death of this great Favourite disturb'd the last Scenes of her Life, and flung her into a settled, and habitual Melancholy, in which she died after a long, glorious, and prosperous Reign, which would have been more shining in Story, if her Stars had not made her Contemporary with the Queen of Scots. On her Death-bed she gave Orders that no one should see or touch her Body, except one particular Lady, whom she appointed to lay her out; this confirms the Opinion of those who believe it was the Conscience of some natural Defect that made her averse to Marriage. The Death of this Great Princess put an End to the Name of *Tudor*, and made Way for the most virtuous Race that ever sat on the Throne of England.

SECTION

SECTION V.

ON the Death of
 James the
 1st, 1603.



Queen Elizabeth,
 James the Sixth of
 Scotland succeed-
 ed, who being de-

scended from *Margaret Tudor*, Daugh-
 ter to *Henry the Seventh*, united in his
 Person all the several Pretences to the
 Crown of *England*, that could be deri-
 ved from the respective Races of Kings
 that ever had the Government of this
 Island; so that the *British*, *Saxon*, *Da-*
nish, and *Norman* Blood, thus center'd
 in the Veins of this King, gave the Fa-
 mily of *Stuart* a clearer Title to the
 Crown than any Soverain House in
Europe can boast.

Upon the first News of *Elizabeth's*
 Death, *James*, who could hardly be-
 lieve

lieve his good Fortune, by easy Journeys came to *London*, leaving the barren Heaths and Mountains of the North, for a more Southern, Fruitful, and Opulent Kingdom; this Union of the two Crowns did not add more to the Fortune of the King, by an Increase of Riches, Grandeur, and Power, than to the mutual Happiness of both People, who, from hereditary, and almost implacable Enemies, were made Friends, and Fellow Subjects.

The Advantages with which this Prince came to the Crown were so very great, as to give him an Opportunity of establishing not only his own, but the Safety, and Quiet of his Successors, if he had follow'd the prudent Conduct of his Predecessor *Elizabeth* in crushing, by a necessary Severity, a certain Faction of Men, then call'd, *Puritans*, whose Principles are inconsistent with Monarchical Government; these Men had no sooner erected their venomous Heads, in the Reign of that Prin-

U

cess,

cess, but they were opportunely suppress'd by the Vigilance of the Government, in enacting Penal Laws, which were put in Execution with all the Rigour that their flagitious Principles deserv'd; to this wise Conduct is chiefly owing the Quiet of so long and prosperous a Reign; but James, with a Lenity so inseparable from his Family, was willing to shew himself the common Father of all his Subjects, and tho' he did not much encourage, however by not punishing with Severity, he gave the Faction Opportunity to increase in Number, and diffuse their Poison.

Tho' this fatal Neglect had not such an immediate Influence on the Happiness of his own Reign, however the ill Consequences were deferr'd to disturb the Peace of his Son's: This Tenderness was the more wonderful in a Prince, who had so dearly to his Cost experienc'd the Principles of these Men in his own Country, where he had been treated with so much Disrespect

by

by his Presbyterian Subjects, besides the horrid Usage of his Mother, whom they forc'd into Exile, after having loaded her with so many Indignities at Home: But the Truth is, there is some Difference between the *English* and *Scots* of this Perswasion, who happening by their natural Temper to be more violent in their Passions, are in this Point only so much the worse Men, as they are better Presbyterians.

It was not long before these ill Principles appear'd, by the Discovery of a Plot, which, tho' originally Puritan, consisted of so many several Sorts of Men, as made the World wonder how such different Interests could join in any one common Design, for in this motly Conspiracy were Papists, Churchmen, and Puritans, who all agreed to overthrow the Government, before they knew what to erect in the stead; for this Plot were condemn'd the Lord Cobham, his Brother, the Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Griffith Markham, two Priests,

and the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was more lamented than all the rest: This Great Man, in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was of that Faction in her Court, who, devoted to the House of *Suffolk*, were Enemies to the *Scotch* Interest; this made him be discountenanc'd by King *James*, upon which, thro' Discontent, he engag'd in this rash Conspiracy; the two Priests and the Lord *Cobham's* Brother were executed; all the rest, tho' condemn'd, were saved by the Clemency of this Prince, by which he gave his People a Specimen of that Tenderness of Blood which has run thro' all the Race of the *Stuarts*; it being a Remark worthy Observation, that there was more Blood shed in almost any one Reign of the *Tudors*, than all the Four *Stuarts* put together, when we have excepted those who were murder'd by the pretended Parliaments in the Time of the Civil Wars, as also a great many innocent Persons who suffer'd in the Popish Plot, against the

the Conscience, and Inclination of the Prince then reigning, which must therefore not be accounted any Acts of the Crown; but notwithstanding the usual Clemency of *James*, he was prevail'd on by the Artifices of *Gondamour* to put the gallant *Rawleigh* to Death fifteen Years afterwards upon the old Sentence, whose Force, in the Opinion of Lawyers, was destroy'd by his having a Commission in the mean Time that gave him Power over the Lives of others, and consequently made him Master of his own: This Action was therefore inexcusable, and resulted more from Want of Courage in this Prince than his Cruelty, being not more unjust, than mean spirited, and the greatest Blemish of his Reign, except the ill Treatment afterward of the Great Lord *Bacon*, who being one of the first Restorers of Philosophy and other Sciences, next after Sir *Thomas Moore*, made his Country known to the learned World Abroad; this illustrious Person,

having pass'd thro' all the Steps of his Profession to the Dignity of Lord Chancellor, and a Peer of the Realm, was attack'd with so much Fury by a Faction at Court, that no Innocence or Merit could protect him from undergoing an infamous Sentence, Fine, and Imprisonment during Pleasure, being charg'd with the Faults of his Servants, for whom he was not answerable: As to his own Part, he was only affected with receiving a Set of gold Buttons, in Value not above 30s. too small a Bribe to corrupt a Man, who either had so great a Contempt for Money, or so little knew the Use of it, that he would carelessly leave Sums of Gold untold on his Table, to be plunder'd by his meanest Domesticks; but this was not all, this Great Man was suffer'd to starve for Want of Bread in his own Country, to whom he had done so much Honour; the Resentment of which Cruelty made a learned Foreigner call him, at the

same

same Time, the Glory and Infamy of the *English* Nation.

Not long after broke out a Conspiracy of a more horrid and dangerous Nature, being the most unparallel'd Treason that ever was harbour'd in the Breasts of Men; this impious Design gave the greatest Blow to the Catholick Interest in *England*, by rendering that Religion so odious to the People; the common Opinion concerning the Discovery of this Plot, by a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, has not been universally allow'd to be the real Truth of this Matter, for some have affirm'd, that this Design was first hammer'd in the Forge of *Cecil*, who intended to have produc'd this Plot in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, but prevented by her Death, he resum'd his Project in this Reign, with a Design to have so enrag'd the Nation as to have expell'd all *Roman* Catholicks, and confiscated their Estates; to this End, by his secret Emis-saries, he entic'd some hot-headed Men

of that Perswasion, who, ignorant whence the Design first came, heartily engag'd in this execrable Powder Treason; tho' this Account should not be true, it is certain that the Court of *England* had Notice of this Plot from *France*, and *Italy*, long before the pretended Discovery; upon which *Cecil*, who knew the whole Matter several Weeks before, fram'd that Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, with a Design to make the Discovery seem the more miraculous, and at the same Time magnify the Judgment of the King, who by his deep Penetration was to have the Honour of unraveling so ambiguous, and dark a Riddle; this gave Occasion to the Court Parasites of this Time, to extol on all Occasions the profound Wisdom of this King, whom his Flatterers have call'd, the *Solomon of England*; but notwithstanding this Prince had certainly good natural Parts, and more Erudition, than is common to Persons of his Rank, however he seems

to

to have rather Cunning than what we generally call Wisdom, the Tracks of which are not so very plain either in his Conduct, Speeches, or Writings, to intitle him to Inspiration; this Flattery so rais'd the Vanity of King James, as to make him manage a Dispute in a Conference at Hampton Court with the Puritan Divines, whose Arguments, tho' refutable by an ordinary Logician, would have been more efficaciously answer'd by the Penal Laws put duly in Execution, than all his Majesty's Royal Syllogisms; but he was so negligent in this Matter, that he made *Abbot*, a Man ting'd with Puritanism, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, by encouraging others of the same Principles, first undermin'd the Peace, and Authority of that Church, of which he had the Honour to be the Head.

The Reign of this Prince being a constant Series of Tranquility at Home, and Peace with our Neighbours Abroad, will furnish us with less Matter than
turbulent,

turbulent, and tempestuous Times, the whole Business of this Court was, the Intrigues of Favourites, and the Result of Ease, and Luxury, Masks, Balls, and such Diversions, Entertainments of foreign Ministers, and sometimes their Masters; for *Christiern* of *Denmark* made no less than two Visits to his Brother-in-law King *James*, besides the *Palgrave*, who came in Person and married the Princess *Elizabeth*, which Match prov'd not a little unfortunate, by the fatal Ambition of that Prince in unjustly aspiring to the Crown of *Bohemia*, which Country he was not only forc'd to abandon, but lost his own Patrimony the *Palatinate*. King *James* was a Man of too much Honour to support this Injustice, however he had so great a Concern for his Daughter, and her Children, as to leave nothing untry'd that might restore them to their just and hereditary Possessions; but the Puritans, who now were grown stronger, and began to be form'd

form'd into a Party against the Govern-
ment in Church and State, laid hold of
this Occasion to asperse the King, and
lessen him in the Esteem of the People;
by interpreting his Coldness in this Af-
fair to proceed from his Disaffection to
the Protestant Interest, for which Rea-
son he would not hearken to the Cries
of his Children; but James was not of
the same Mind with these People, who
measure Honour, and Conscience, on-
ly by Interest, and think nothing un-
just, that is profitable. The Experience
of this Prince shew'd him how dange-
rous, as well as dishonourable, it is,
for one King to support the Rebellion
of another's Subjects, that Practice in
Queen Elizabeth had been already too
fatal to his own Family, not to make
him avoid the same Injustice to others;
but to shew the World how much the
Restitution of the Palatinate was on his
Spirit, this only Reason, contrary to
his Inclination, made him embrace the
Offer of the Spanish Match for his Son
Prince

Prince *Charles*, which was then thought the only Means to bring the House of *Austria* to Reason, and that this might more Speedily and effectually be concluded, he condescended to send his only Son thither in Person; for this Action, in sending the Heir of the Crown into *Spain*, King *James* was very much censur'd, tho' without any Reason or Justice, for the Prince return'd in Safety again, without a *Spanish* Wife; soon after this follow'd the Death of King *James*, occasion'd by an Ague, tho' the Malice of some gave out that he was poison'd, but on the opening of the Body no Symptoms of Violence appear'd; but on the contrary, all the Signs of a natural Death.

We are now come to a
Charles the 1st.
 1625. Reign which might have promis'd to all reasonable Men the highest Felicity imaginable, the *English* Nation at this Time saw a young Monarch ascend the Throne adorn'd with every Virtue that *Plato* would

would have wish'd in a King, or old
 Rome in a Dictator, such was *Charles*
 the First, whose Misfortunes are the
 more unaccountable in happening to a
 Prince who deserv'd the highest Vene-
 ration of his Subjects, and to have been
 the happiest of Mankind, for he had the
 most Virtues, and the fewest Faults,
 of any *English* King; nevertheless he
 has been unjustly censur'd by all Par-
 ties, but it is so difficult to please eve-
 ry one, that his Enemies have tax'd
 him with too much Obstinacy, and his
 Friends with too little Resolution;
 however, we may affirm that, except-
 ing some false Steps, his Consent to
 which, contrary to his own Opinion,
 was extorted by the Importunity of his
 false Friends, who betray'd him, the
 four Cardinal Virtues never more con-
 spicuously met in any one Person,
 whom Story has produc'd on the The-
 atre of the World; his Justice was ex-
 tended to all Mankind, and more to
 his Enemies than himself; his Pru-
 dence

Hence made him bend with the Storm
 to shun the danger, by always yielding
 to the Violence of the Times, except
 when his Honour, and Conscience, bad
 him be sacrific'd; his Temperance the
 Disingenuity of his Enemies never di-
 sputed; and his Fortitude was emi-
 nently seen in his heroick Patience un-
 der his sufferings: How such a Prince should miscarry,
 the Curiosity of the World will in-
 quire; to find the Cause of these Mis-
 fortunes we must first consider the Cir-
 cumstances in which he found himself
 upon his Accession to the Throne, and
 in the next Place, the Temper, and
 Condition of the People he came to go-
 vern; his Father at his Death had left
 him under an Engagement to make
 War on the House of Austria, for the
 Recovery of the Palatinate, to carry on
 which, there were only no Subsidies yet
 granted, but an Exchequer exhausted;
 and in Debt, this made his Circum-
 stances precarious, and necessitous;

these

these Wanta he laid before his first Parliament, not only by his Chancellor's, as his Predecessors were wont, but by his own Mouth from the Throne, in a Speech so moving and pathetick, I as would have made Impressions on any Men who had the least Concern for the Honour, and Interest of their Prince and Country; but this Parliament had not that common Complaisance, which is usually shewn to new Kings before they have given their Subjects any Cause of Disgust; they soon, by the Returns they made to this Speech, let him know that he should have no Supply, but what he must purchase with his Prerogative; they started imaginary Grievances, and complain'd of evil Councillors, the common Pretences of Sedition; the Causes of this Disaffection and Brutality we are now to consider: The Puritan Party bore a great Sway in the House of Commons; I have mentioned these People in the foregoing Reigns, in which their Credit and Numbers

bers were inconsiderable, but toward the
 latter End of King James they were
 increas'd in both, and having chang'd
 their common Name, were divided in-
 to Independants, Anabaptists, and Pres-
 biterians, the last were the most con-
 siderable, but all join'd in an equal
 Aversion to the Government in Church
 and State; the Preachers of these Per-
 swasions, tho' in Comparison with the
 Orthodox Clergy, very ignorant, and
 illiterate, by a counterfeit Sanctity, and
 strictness of Life, had wonderfully in-
 sinuated themselves into the Esteem of
 the People, so that by Degrees, not
 only the Vulgar, but most of the
 Tradesmen in Great Cities, many of
 the richer Gentry, and some few of
 the Nobility, began to be poison'd with
 their Fanatick Principles; these Men
 let slip no Occasion of blackening the
 Church, they laid hold of every casual
 Immorality in the meaner Clergy, to
 expose the whole Order to the Con-
 tempt of the People, they preach'd up
 the

the Doctrine of the Sabbath only to make the King and Bishops odious, who in Concurrence with the rest of the Christian World, Reform'd, as well as *Romish*, had tolerated Sports on that Day after divine Service; this Doctrine they urg'd with so much Vehemence, that they made it more criminal to violate the Jewish Sanctity of this Day, tho' without any Ground from Reason, Scripture, or Authority of the Church, than to lie with their Nieces, and Sisters, of which Crimes some of the leading Saints were convicted; and that they might run as far as they cou'd from Christianity, they almost fell into *Judaisme*: Their chief Aim in carrying this Doctrine to such an Extravagance, was not only directed against the King, but to asperse and villify Archbishop *Laud*; this illustrious Prelate, whose Name cannot be mention'd without the profoundest Veneration by every True Son of the Orthodox Church, was the chief Object of their

implacable Malice, only for endeavouring to maintain the Dignity of the Hierarchy, and repair, if I may use the Expression, the spiritual Dilapidations of his Puritan Predecessors, by introducing Discipline, Order, and Decency, all which had been so scandalously neglected for some Time before; but his chief Crime was, endeavouring to introduce a Liturgy in Scotland, conformable to that in England; this was never forgiven by those furious Covenanters, who with an inveterate Rage pursu'd him to the Block; Nor was the Disingenuity of his Enemies less than their Malice, for they charg'd him with being Popishly affected, notwithstanding his noble Defence of the Protestant Religion against *Fisher* the Jesuit; however, in Spite of Calumny, and Detraction, the Wise and Good will for ever reverence his Memory, and as he was one of the greatest Men the Reformation has produc'd, always look on him as a singular Ornament of
that

that Church, for whose Altars he died
 a Martyr. To these were join'd ano-
 ther Sort of Men, who were furious Ene-
 mies to all reveal'd Religion, but now
 assum'd the Cloak of Sanctity, that
 they might share in the Plunder of the
 Monarchy and Church; these last were
 the true Ancestors of some of our
 modern Whigs, who have just as
 much Conscience, and Religion, as
 their Progenitors; but the most consi-
 derable Men in this Faction were that
 Part of the Nobility and Gentry who,
 being Men of Letters, had por'd so
 long in their Studies over musty Books
 of Politicks, as to fall in love with a
 Commonwealth, every one fancied
 himself a *Marius*, or *Scylla*, and long'd
 to be beating out one another's Brains
 with Stools, and Benches, at every
 Election of a Magistrate; the first Hopes
 of a Commonwealth were put into
 their Heads by the late Example of the
 States of *Holland*, who having but thir-
 ty Years before revolted from their na-

tural Printe the King of *Spain*, and form'd themselves into a Republick, began to grow considerable in the World for Riches, Strength, and Power; the Success of these Fishermen made our Republicans mad to follow the Measures of a People, who were destin'd to ruin our Trade by their Avarice, and our Morals by their Example; a Parliament consisting of such Men as these could not fail to use all Means of undermining a Government they were resolv'd to subvert; the first Attack they made upon the King was thro' the Sides of his Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*: This Nobleman had been recommended to King *James* not only by the Beauty of his Person, which made him an Ornament of the Court, but by the shining Qualities of his Mind, being magnificent in his Nature, generous, affable, and perfectly well bred; an Encourager of Merit even in his Enemies, and a Patron of Learning; these great Qualifications of course must render him an Object of Envy,

Envy, and Hatred to Men, whose Principles were so diametrically opposite, being little, mean spirited, peevish, splenetick Fanatics, whose Blood fower'd with a false Spirit of Religion, made them Enemies to all Gallantry, and Grandeur.

This Parliament having thus shew'd so dangerous a Disaffection, were dissolv'd by the Prudence of the King, tho' they had given him no Subsidy; this undutiful and factious Behaviour oblig'd him, under such great Pressures, to take extraordinary Measures, but warranted by the frequent Examples of his Predecessors on like Occasions, the Cries and Clamour of his People in Behalf of the Protestant Religion, and not the Pique of the Duke of *Buckingham*, had engag'd him, in Defence of the *Rochellers*, in an expensive War, in which they had entangled him on Purpose that he might become precarious, and lie at their Mercy, who had not Generosity to relieve his Necessities at a less Expence than the dearest Jewels.

of his Crown, in lopping his Prerogative; this put him upon the Projects of Loans, Benevolences, and Ship-money, in which he was justify'd by numerous Precedents, and the Opinions of his Judges; but supposing he was never so much in the Wrong as to this Matter, he soon made a sufficient Attonement, by a Renunciation of all such Pretensions for the future, and obliging himself to do so no more; Repentance is all the Satisfaction we can make to Heaven for our Failings, and certainly ought to have contented Subjects. That it had been the Custom of our *English* Kings to support their great Necessities by a voluntary Contribution from their Subjects is past Dispute, of this we have such frequent Examples all along in our Chronicles, that it is unnecessary to specify any particular Instances.

The succeeding Parliament trod in the Steps of their Predecessors, whose Violence they imitated by a fresh Attack upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, against

gainst whom they were furnish'd with Matter by the Malice of my Lord of *Bristol*, who, having been Ambassador at the same Time that the Prince and Duke were in *Spain*, upon a Misunderstanding between them, conceiv'd so mortal a Hatred against *Buckingham*, that he meditated nothing less than his Ruin; this Quarrel gave an Opportunity to the Parliament of supporting the Earl's Accusations with their own Impeachment, and brought the King into the Quarrel, who being the best Judge of the Matter, supported *Buckingham* against *Bristol*, between whom and the Duke there were mutual Recriminations.

Some of the Articles against the Duke were false, and groundless, others maliciously wrested, as nothing is more easy than to give a Reverse of any Action, and some Things which were alledg'd as Crimes, the generality of Mankind will call Virtues; this Article was, *That making Use of the great Power*

he had with the King, he had advanc'd his Kindred and Relations. How great a Crime this was, the Duke's own Answer will satisfy: That he believ'd he were rather worthily to be condemn'd in the Opinion of all generous Men, if being in such Favour with his Prince, he had only minded his own Advancement, and forgot those whom the Ties of Blood had so particularly recommended to his Care. So unreasonable are some Men, as, for Want of Faults, to reproach the very Virtues of their Enemies.

This constant ill Humour in the People, which increas'd every Day, oblig'd this Great, but Unfortunate Prince, to frequent Dissolutions of his Parliaments, in Hopes to heal these Distempers, to the Cure of which he contributed every Thing in his Power; he granted the Petition of Right, and abridg'd his own legal Authority, meerly to oblige his People, by such convincing Testimonies of his Bounty, and Goodness, but all in vain, there
was

was no pleasing a Sort of Men who were resolv'd to quarrel with him, whether he would or no; this forc'd him to a Resolution of having no more Parliaments for a Time, in Hopes the ill Humours, which had fermented so long, would of themselves subside, when they should no longer be stirr'd by Opposition; but this Prince was desin'd to have no Rest from his Troubles; he had no sooner put an End to the Seditions in *England*, by a Dissolution of the last Parliament, but he found new Trials of his Patience, by the factious Behaviour of his *Scotch* Subjects: These Seeds of Dissention, if not sow'd at first, were improv'd, and cultivated by the Artifices of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who constantly for several Years had his Agents in *Scotland*, who kept open the Breach between the King and his People; these horrid Fanaticks had oblig'd themselves by a most impious Covenant to destroy the establish'd Hierarchy, and introduce in the Stead,
their

their own wretched Discipline; but the King, who knew their mischievous Principles, was not insensible how necessary it was to put a Stop to the growing Evil, which, if not check'd, would have very fatal Consequences, not only on the Peace of the Church, but the Safety of the Crown, whose Interests seem'd so interwoven, as mutually to support each other; in Order therefore to reduce his *Scotch* Subjects, he rais'd an Army in *England*, but by the Interest the Covenanters had here among their godly Brethren, and the Treachery of some Persons in his own Court, he was hinder'd from chastising those Rebels when he had a superior Force; a timely Suppression of these *Scotch* Vipers might in human Probability have prevented the Diffusion of the Poison, and that unnatural Rebellion, which soon after broke out in *England*; but it was the Fate of this Prince, and indeed his Family, to be always betray'd, and especially by those who lay

lay under the most indispensable Obligations of Gratitude, and Fidelity, for so abandon'd were the Villains of this Court, that some of his Bed-chambermen made no Scruple to pick the King's Pockets when he was in Bed, and copy his Letters, which they sent to the Covenanters.

The Scots, having invaded *England*, oblig'd the King to call a Parliament, he had try'd in the Year 40, but finding the Commons pursue the same Measures, he was forc'd to dissolve them after a Session of 22 Days; but now approach'd his Fate, for being oblig'd to call another, that unfortunate Parliament assembled in *November*, the same Year; these were the Men who for 19 Years together, except some Interruptions of their Power, domineer'd in a despotick Manner, and took away the Lives, Liberties, and Estates, of their Fellow Subjects, while on Pretence of delivering them from imaginary Evils, they involv'd them in real;
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it is surprizing to reflect how so inconsiderable a Part of the Nation, as the Republicans were at this Time, to which Number I confine those who design'd to change the Government into a Commonwealth, should promise themselves Success in so bold an Undertaking, as the Subversion of a Monarchy, almost as ancient as the Rocks of our Island; for tho' the leading Men, by their specious Pretences, drew in vast Numbers to take their Part, however the Majority had no further View than to secure those Liberties which their factious Chiefs had made them believe were invaded.

The first indirect Attack made on the King by this Parliament was, thro' the Sides of my Lord *Strafford* his chief Minister, who was a Gentleman of great Parts, and Abilities, and first of that Party in former Parliaments, who being moderate Men, were for redressing of Grievances by calm, legal, and decent Methods, according to the Prescription of the Laws, without a Violation
of

of the Duty they ow'd their Prince, or the publick Tranquility; but upon a Discovery of the ill Designs of the Fanatick Party, he went over to the King's Side, charm'd with that Goodness, and Virtues, which needed only be known to be reverenc'd; this Desertion of the Cause was a Crime which these Men could never forgive, upon this Account they had resolv'd his Ruin, and in Order to their Revenge exhibited numerous Articles against him, most of which he satisfactorily answer'd, and those which did seem to affect him, amounted to no more than Misdemeanors; but when the Laws would not reach his Life, they resolv'd to supply that Defect by the legislative Power, and so pass'd the infamous Bill of Attainder, of which they were less asham'd, than afraid, for they inserted a Clause to prevent the Use of this Case as a Precedent for the future, as if what was Justice to one, was not the same to the rest of Mankind; the King long hesitated in passing this Bill,
which

which was contrary to his Conscience, till attack'd on every Side by the sollicitation of his false Friends, and the Clamours of the Rabble, he yielded at last to the Artifices of the perfidious Bishop of *Lincoln* and others, who trick'd both the King, and *Strafford*, into their mutual Ruin.

Nothing ever went so near the Heart of *Charles* as the Death of this Great Man, for which he afterwards testify'd so much Remorse on the Scaffold; a happy Penitent, who had no other Crime to charge on his Conscience, but what was extorted from him by the Violence of a Rape on his Inclinations; but not long after more fatally abus'd by those in whom he too much confided, he was advis'd to pass that Act to make this Parliament undeterminable, but at their own Pleasure; to this unhappy Step is to be ascrib'd the subsequent Calamity of King, and Kingdom; it is reported that the next Morning after the fatal Consent given to that

that Bill, the Earl of Dorset came over'd into the King's Bed-chamber, and when admonish'd to think where he was, answer'd, *This there was no King in England*; which in Effect was true, the Power which should defend the Throne being alienated and given into the Hands of Men, who made no other Use of this Power but to destroy themselves, their King, and Country.

The Parliament no sooner saw themselves Masters of their own Time, to sit as long as they pleas'd, but they pull'd off the Mask, and by demanding the Militia, which was taking the King's Sword from his Side, convinc'd the World of their ill Designs; the Power of the Militia was an inseparable Right of the Crown, and could not be transferr'd to other Hands, without the King's manifest Destruction; of this he was too sensible to grant so unreasonable a Demand; but the Commons repeating their Violence, and inciting the Rabble in vast Numbers to
insult

insult him at his Palace Gate, oblig'd the King to retire with his Children to *Hampton Court*; after which, finding that no Condescensions could bring them to a Sense of their Duty, he made a Progress into the North, which was more free from the Infection that had spread itself all over the South and midland Parts of the Kingdom, by being nearer to *London*, the very Fountain Head of Sedition: Upon this the Parliament made actual War upon the King, by seizing his Town of *Hull*, to which Place they sent Sir *John Horham*, who refus'd the King Entrance when he came to the Gates; notwithstanding this Act of Violence, which was actual Treason, and Rebellion, these Men had the Assurance to tell the World that the King first made War upon them: This strange procedure destroy'd all Hopes of a Reconciliation; after such an Indignity the King found it inconsistent with his Honour, or the Duty of the Trust reposed in him, to treat
with

with such abandon'd Men till they
 shou'd make him Reparation for this
 Affront; but the Parliament persisting
 in their Mutiny, and thro' Conscience
 of their Guilt beginning to arm, the
 King found it necessary to accept the
 Offers which the Nobility, and Gen-
 try, in the North made him, to guard,
 and defend his Person; after which,
 marching to *Nottingham*, he erected his
 Standard, and summon'd his People ac-
 cording to the Obligations of their Al-
 legiance to defend his Crown, and Dig-
 nity, against his open, and profess'd
 Enemies; thus began the dismal War of
 41, which, by the just Judgment of
 God, ended at last in the Confusion
 and Disgrace of the first Contrivers;
 whoever will take the Pains to consi-
 der the Motives and Steps to this War,
 and impartially weigh the Merits of the
 Cause on either Side, by reading the se-
 veral Remonstrances, Speeches, and De-
 clarations, both of King, and Parlia-
 ment, must certainly acknowledge that

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the King was only on the Defensive Side; and that the Measures he took were no more than what were absolutely necessary to defend his Person, and Authority, against the rude and unjustifiable Attacks of a popular Faction, who had visible Designs of subverting the establish'd and ancient Government. The Nation thus divided into two Parties, Cavaliers, and Round-heads, the Church intirely, and the most virtuous Part of the Nobility and Gentry, sided with the King; with the Parliament the trading Part of the Nation generally, whose Principles were more easily corrupted, than those of a more generous Education; the Officers of the Parliament Army, excepting some few Persons of Quality, who at first engag'd, but soon repented, consisted chiefly in Soldiers of Fortune, some of whom having been bred in the *German Wars*, came over upon these Dissentions at Home, and sided with that Party who had the most Money to pay

pay them, without entering much into the Merits of the Cause on either Side; the rest were Bankrupts, and broken Tradefmen, whose desperate Circumstances made a War necessary to mend their Fortunes in the publick Ruin; that these People should engage against the Crown is no Wonder, but what seems unaccountable is, that any of the Nobility, who all derive their Lustre and Privileges from the Prince, should not think themselves oblig'd as well by Interest, as Duty, to support the Crown, after whose Fall, they could not expect to stand themselves; the Truth of which will appear by the Event.

Various were the Successes of this cruel War, in which several bloody Battles were fought with alternate Fortune: In the Beginning the King seem'd to have the Advantage, whose Troops, carried on by a Principle of Honour, most commonly routed the Enemy, till at last their Want of equal Courage

was supply'd by Enthusiasm, which made the Visionaries fight more like Furies, than Men; nevertheless the King had one Opportunity put into his Hands of making an End of the War, if his good Genius had inspir'd him with Resolution to lay hold of this favourable Occasion, but instead of marching to *London* with a victorious Army, where the Parliament had none to defend them, by a fatal Advice, whether maliciously, or ignorantly given, is uncertain, he sat down before *Glocester*, which Place being vigorously defended, kept him so long in Play, till the Parliament, who before desponded; had Time to recover their Consternation, and raise a new Army, which turn'd the Fortune of the War; it is certain that the Faction at this Time were under so great a Terrour, that the leading Men had consulted their Safety in having Vessels ready to have transported them to *France* and *Holland*, in Case the King had march'd directly

directly to *London*, where he had no inconsiderable Party to have join'd him; by this Conduct he would have unken-
nell'd the Vermin at *Westminster*, and so made himself Master of the factious City, whose inexhaustible Riches were the chief Support and Nourishment of the Rebellion.

After this fatal Error, the King's Affairs daily declin'd, to which Turn of Fortune some Misunderstandings among his own Party did not a little contribute; however, if the *Scotch* Covenanters had not come in to the Assistance of their Brethren, it is probable the King would have been able to have supported his Cause in *England*, but this new Army consisting of 20000 weigh'd down the Scale: This perfidious People, notwithstanding they had engag'd themselves, upon the Conclusion of the last Peace, in which the King had granted all their Desires, never more to bear Arms against him, nevertheless broke all these solemn Protestations, and con-
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spir'd

spir'd his Ruin in Concert with the
English Parliament; this considerable
 Addition made the Parliament too
 strong for the King long to oppose,
 who, after the fatal Battle of *Naseby*,
 lost all Hope of Success in his Affairs;
 this Defeat was the most considerable
 that happen'd in all the War, the
 King's Army being intirely routed, his
 Canon, Baggage, and Ammunition ta-
 ken, and among other Spoils of the
 Field, his Cabinet of Letters were sent
 to the Parliament, who now no longer
 restrain'd within any Bounds of Re-
 spect toward their Prince, basely ex-
 pos'd the Secrets of Man and Wife, by
 printing the Letters between the King
 and Queen, which illustrious Princess
 was worthy better Fortune than what
 she found from the Hands of those
 Brutes, who, contrary to the Tender-
 ness and Indulgence of our Laws to
 the Fair Sex, voted her guilty of High
 Treason, only for obeying the Laws of
 God, Man, and Honour, in assisting
 the

the King her Husband, which ill Treatment she bore with a Greatness of Mind, and Courage, above her Sex, so as to convince the World that she was worthy to be the Wife of *Charles* the Martyr, and Daughter to *Henry* the Great: This Example was enough to frighten foreign Princesses from venturing to Match into a Country, where common Decency, and the Law of Nations, was so little observ'd.

The King, upon this Run of ill Fortune, his Garrisons daily surrendering, quitted *Oxford*, which was the last considerable Place that held for him, and thus destitute of Friends or Council, put himself into the Hands of the *Scotch* Army who lay before *Newark*; immediately upon this, the Parliament of *England* sent to demand his Person, this was at first deny'd by the Covenanters, who enter'd into a most ridiculous Dispute, whose King he was most, tho' neither had shew'd them-

selfes his Subjects before; but at last for a Sum of Money they basely deliver'd him to his mortal Enemies, notwithstanding the Promises of Protection they had given him.

Thus was this unhappy Prince now a Prisoner to his own Subjects, who, how well they made good the specious Pretences, when they first took Arms against him, let the World judge; they then declar'd that they fought for the Honour, and Safety of the King, whom they pretended to rescue from ill Hands and make him a glorious Prince, which in one Respect they perform'd, by giving him Martyrdom, the only Crown they had not Ambition or Malice to take away; he had not been long a Prisoner, when the Independant Party in the House and the Army, who had different Views from the rest, send a Cornet with a Body of Horse to seize the Person of the King, and take him by Violence from the Parliament Commissioners; the Army had been now
new

new modell'd by a Self-denying Ordinance, as they call'd it, of Parliament, which made their own Members incapable of Commands; by Virtue of this Order, the Officers that were Members, and the Nobility, had quitted their Commands, and so made Way for a more popular Party, who were now Independants, to come in their Room; this was the Faction who had seiz'd the King, in Order to their impious Design of putting him to Death: The Parliament were startled at this Violation of their Authority, in seizing the King, who was their Prisoner, upon which several Remonstrances pass'd between them, and the Army; but how cou'd these unthinking Men expect any Defe-
 rence, or Obedience from Persons, into whose Hands they themselves had put Arms, and taught them to rebel against the only Power, to which they ow'd a Duty.

In the mean While the Independant Party, supported by the Army, after
 all

all the Condescensions of the King, as far as his Conscience wou'd permit, notwithstanding both Houses had voted his Concessions a Ground of Peace, resolv'd on his Tryal, and to bring him, as they call'd it, to Justice, having first purg'd the House by a Seclusion of a great Part of their Members, who, though they had gone thus far Hand in Hand, were not harden'd enough to comply with this last Villany.

Nevertheless the abandon'd Miscreants, supported by the Fanatick Army, had the Impudence to perpetrate the execrable Deed, by putting their anointed Sovereign to Death at the Gate of his own Palace; this detestable Action render'd at this Time the *English* Nation odious to the rest of Mankind, and made the remotest Savages blush at the Infamy of their Fellow Creatures, notwithstanding we have liv'd to see the Time when the Press and the Pulpit have reenter'd, if not to justify, to extenuate

extenuate this horrid Violation of all that was Sacred.

Such was the End of this pious Prince, whose sad Catastrophe could not be prevented by the Remonstrances, Petitions, Sighs, and Tears of his People: There had several Designs been laid for his Escape, but his own Destiny, and the ill Genius of *England*, were too strong to be resisted. Some have asserted, that *Cromwell* himself, upon the Disgust between the Army, and Parliament, who design'd to disband them, had made some Advances of Reconciliation with the King, whom he offer'd to restore, not only to his legal Authority, but to make him as absolute as the Grand Seignior, on Condition he would maintain the Army, govern despotically, and support their Ambition; but the good Prince, so far from being guilty of those Designs, with which his Enemies tax'd him, would not purchase his Life, Liberty, and Revenge, at the Expence of his Conscience:

Conscience: Nothing could certainly have been more agreeable to human Nature, if not corrected by the highest Spirit of Christianity, than to have had his Enemies deliver'd into his Hands by those very Men whom they had arm'd for his Destruction: But this generous Refusal had too fatal Consequences; so much is it safer to be really a Knave, than only to be thought so, for if he had been the Man his Enemies represented him, he might have sav'd himself at their Expence; the flagitious *Cromwell*, finding the King incapable of serving his Ends, from that Moment resolv'd his Ruin, and afterward took other Measures to support his Greatness.

Here we must make some Reflections on the just Punishment of the Presbyterian Party, who being the first Contrivers of the Rebellion in 41, were now not only expell'd the House, and disgrac'd, but some of the principal Leaders fin'd, and imprison'd, by their own

own Fellows, and Confederates in their common Rebellion, being treated with the same Severities as Cavaliers and Malignants; these Men first ran the King down, and the Independants cut his Throat; the *Scots* fold him, and the *English* murder'd him; both Parties, both Nations, as they were Partakers of the Guilt, soon felt the Vengeance due to so execrable a Treason, and Parricide: Nor did that Part of the Nobility escape better, who, having join'd in the War, continu'd to sit at *Westminster* after the Death of the King, and the Dissolution of the Government in Church, and State: But to the Honour of that illustrious Body, the Majority of whom were loyal, these were but a very few, being only a Rump of the Lords, as the Commons were of the Lower House, who now voted them useless, and turn'd them out of Doors; notwithstanding which Indignity, some were so very mean spirited as to wave their Hereditary Right in a nobler

nobler Station, and sit by Election in the House of Commons, even in their blue Ribbons, those Badges of Honour they had receiv'd from the Crown, and in no better Company than broken Attorneys, and Brewers Clerks.

It must certainly at this Time have been a great Satisfaction to the Cavaliers, notwithstanding their own Misfortunes, to see their Enemies reduc'd to the same ill Circumstances with themselves, without the Comfort of a good Conscience to support them; so just, and remarkable was the Punishment of these thoughtless Lords, who not content to enjoy their Privileges, Estates, and Honours, under the Protection of a mild, and gracious Prince, join'd with a popular Faction to ruin the Monarchy, and pull down the Church, forgetting that they were Kinsmen to that Throne, which could not be shaken without staggering themselves, nor destroy'd without dragging them into the same Gulph of Ruin. Now they
saw

saw the dismal Consequences of their Folly, and Ingratitude to the best of Princes; they found themselves insulted by Dray-men and Coblers, and domineer'd over by the very Dregs of the People, for of such consisted the Officers of this Army, who now tyrannically govern'd the Nation; some of whom were so very obscure, and mean, that they had no Names but what were given by the Parishes that bred them: They now saw themselves very much mistaken in thinking to form an Aristocracy, which must have been the Design of those Lords, who help'd the Commons to destroy the Monarchy; but they found to their Cost, that the Dregs of a Democracy were the natural Corruption of our Government, as soon as the Constitution was dissolved; for they now saw themselves on a Level with the rest of their Fellow Subjects, stripp'd of the Privileges they enjoy'd above those of their Rank in other Countries, and in no small Danger

ger of returning to the Place from whence some of them came, the Bar, or the Counter, and sinking into the Body of the People, to be no more distinguish'd by Title, than Merit.

Here legally begins the *Charles the 2d*, *Reign of Charles the Second*, but we shall see a long Parenthesis of Troubles, and confusions between this Time, and his happy Possession of the Throne: This Prince was in Exile when he heard the dismal News of his Father's Murder, upon which he immediately assum'd the Title of King; nor indeed was it any more than a Title, till his Restoration in *England*, notwithstanding he was call'd to the Throne of *Scotland*, where the Covenanters had now quarrell'd with their *English* Bretheren, in spite of the solemn League between them; the *Scots* pretended to blame the *English* for the Murder of the King, tho' common Charity will hardly oblige us to believe the Sincerity of their
Compassion

Compassion for a Prince whom they had taken such Pains to ruin, or that Men of such horrid Principles could have any Reserve of Conscience; the Truth was, they now grew apprehensive of the growing Commonwealth in *England*, whose Principles they knew too well, not to apprehend the Ambition of a People, whom no Alliances, or Covenants could bind; this Consideration, more than any Sense of Duty, made them resolve to restore their lawful Prince, and set on Foot the Treaty of *Breda*, which had like to have been interrupted by an Action of the most unparallel'd Barbarity that ever was committed by a civiliz'd Nation; this was the Execution of the great *Montrose*, for no other Crime, but for his acting by the Commission of that Prince, whom they were going to restore: Nothing can make his Country amends for the Infamy of this Cruelty, but her having had the Honour to produce so Brave a Man, whose

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Greatness

Greatness of Mind, Courage, and Fidelity, tho' they seem'd buried with him, we saw lately break forth again, collaterally in the Name and Blood of a *Graham*.

The King, after some Reluctance upon this Occasion, condescended to accept a Crown, which was not worth the taking from the Ground, for he was no sooner arriv'd, but his first Entertainment was the Spectacle of *Montrose's* Quarters, his most gallant, and faithful Servant; soon after he found the Treatment of his own Person all of a Piece with the rest of their Actions; they forbid the Towns, and Burroughs, to make him any Presents, allow'd him no more Money, than they thought fit for his Pocket, kept him under Correction, and in short, treated him more like a School-boy, than their Prince: This unaccountable Carriage, with the Fury of their Zeal, and Enthusiasm, would make one think that these People, so different

sent from the rest of Mankind, were certainly possess'd with an evil Spirit; but notwithstanding the general Frenzy which possess'd that Nation at this Time, there was still a gallant Party left, who not poisoned with the Principles of the Kirk, retain'd the Fidelity, and Bravery of the Ancient Scots; but they were too weak to support the Interest and Honour of their Prince, against the more powerful Faction of the Covenant: The King himself was so sensible of their ill Usage, that he once design'd to go away, preferring the Misery of begging his Bread in a foreign Country, to the titular Government of so wretched a People; but he was at last perswaded to return from the Highlands, and do so much Violence to his Nature, as to breathe the same Air with those Fanaticks.

The Restauration of the King in Scotland, and the Preparations for War, justly alarm'd the Rump at *Westminster*, who, to prevent the Designs of their

Enemies, sent *Cromwell*, now newly made General, into *Scotland*, where he had several Skirmishes to the Disadvantage of the *Scots*, till reduc'd to great Want of Provisions, he was forced to retreat Homewards, and at last was so surrounded by the more numerous Enemy, that his Condition was thought desperate; this so rais'd the insolent Hopes of the Covenanters, that they concluded the Day their own, while the Godly Ministers in their frantick Visions went about from Rank to Rank, assuring the Soldiers that the Lord of Hosts was on their Side, that there was no Need to use their Weapons, for the Lord had deliver'd the Enemy into their Hands; such was the Assurance of these Enthusiasts, when *Cromwell*, made desperate by Necessity, fell upon them, and so cudgell'd the Saints, that for a good While after they had a very ill Opinion of the Friendship of Heaven: This was that memorable Battle of *Dunbar*, fought

fought on the 3d of *September*, a Day always counted auspicious to that Tyrant.

This Defeat was a great Blow to the King's Affairs; however, with the Ruins of this *Scotch* Army, and some other Troops which he had on Foot, he afterwards resolv'd to try his Fortune in *England*, after having first been crown'd at *Scoon*; and now giving the *English* Army the slip, he march'd to *Carlisle*, and so thro' the Northwest of *England* to *Worcester*, where he halted to take Breath, and refresh his weary Troops, fatigued with so long a March, and the continual Skirmishes in the Way, his Forces being considerably diminish'd, as well by Losses, as Desertions; for great Numbers daily stole away upon the ill Prospect of their Affairs; so that the King had not at *Worcester* above 12000 effective Men, the Country not coming in as was expected, not thro' any Want of Courage or Inclination in his Friends, who had all along given

such wondrous Proofs of an invincible Fidelity, but the Militia, being every where in Arms, prevented their design'd Rendezvouzes; nevertheless the Brave Earl of *Derby* appear'd in the Royal Cause, for which he was barbarously put to Death by the Usurpers, notwithstanding the Parole of Quarter given upon his Surrender; but it was no Wonder, if those Monsters observ'd not the Laws of Honour, who had so long violated those of God, and Nature.

The King, thus distress'd, had nothing left but Despair to support him, in the Thought that his Condition could not be worse: *Cromwell*, who had pursu'd him all the Way from *Scotland*, was now arriv'd with a numerous and disciplin'd Army, who beleaguerr'd the *Scots* in *Worcester*; upon this the Besieg'd made a desperate Sally, in which they shew'd a Gallantry equal to the Justice of the Cause in which they fought, but all in vain, the Fortune

time of *Cromwell* was irresistible: The King, finding all lost, resolv'd to part with his Hopes and Life together, but at last perswaded by the Tears of his Friends, he consulted by Flight the Safety of a Life that was dearer to others than himself: He was now in the Heart of the Kingdom, pursu'd by a victorious Enemy, all Passes, and Avenues, guarded by Men in Arms, so that to escape long was beyond any human Prospect; nevertheless, by the miraculous Conduct of Providence, he was reserv'd to bless his People with an auspicious Reign, for after several Dangers, and Adventures, he safely escap'd into *France*.

This Defeat at *Worcester* gave the finishing Blow to the Royal Fortune; and now all Hope that the Crown or Church could ever be restor'd was vanish'd, so that the Republicans had a sure Game in their Hands, but they wanted Genius, and Address, to manage it; if Honesty is so absolutely necessary to

preserve a Government already estab-
 lish'd, how much more Occasion is
 there for the sublimest Virtue to lay
 new Foundations? The Word Patriot
 was now known in *England*, but like
 Spirits, tho' frequently mention'd, ne-
 ver seen nor felt; the ill Conduct of
 this Rump, who having usurp'd the
 Government, design'd a Perpetuation
 of their unjust Authority, soon open'd
 the Eyes of the People, who being
 fleec'd and oppress'd by their new Ma-
 sters, could not fail to make melanco-
 ly Reflections on the Change of their
 Condition, to which their own Folly,
 and Credulity, had betray'd them, by
 hearkening to their Quack Politicians,
 who on Pretence of mending the Go-
 vernment by destroying the Old Consti-
 tution, had physick'd the Common-
 wealth into incurable Convulsions; by
 this appear'd the Villany of their fa-
 ctious Leaders, and the Charm of No-
 velty once worn off, they long'd again
 for the ancient Form of Government,
 which

which with so much Levity they had help'd to destroy.

Instead of a limited Monarchy, circumscrib'd by the Bounds of the Law, which had lodg'd a Power in the Crown to relieve the Injur'd, succour the Oppress'd, mitigate the Rigour of the Laws, and distinguish Objects of Mercy, under the Notion of an equal Commonwealth, they found themselves govern'd by cruel and inexorable Men, who sacrific'd the publick Good to their private Interest, and thought Severity the only Sign of Wisdom: Instead of that mild Discipline, and decent Ceremony in the Church, so necessary to raise a proper Devotion, they found their Consciences oppress'd by the Tyranny of a Fanatick Inquisition, while they who murmur'd to pay lawful Tithes to a learned and reverend Pastor, now saw themselves oblig'd to impoverish their Families to support a greasy, and illiterate Blockhead; instead of those noble, and moral Harangues,

languages, which by the Force of human Eloquence lead Men into a love of Virtue, and a good Life, they heard the Pulpits resound with nothing but Vision, and Blasphemy, in imposing on Heaven with Buffoonry, and extemporary Nonsense; such were these Teachers, who in the ridiculous Cant of these Times, nay in the Language of the Parliament, were call'd, a Godly — Able — Faithful — Painful — Gospel — Preaching Ministry.

Such a Government in Church and State must necessarily fall under universal Contempt, which made Way for Cromwell to put in Execution his long projected Designs, for having an Army at his Devotion, whose Officers he had moulded to be subservient to his Ambition, he by Violence expels the Remnant of the long Parliament, and makes himself Master of his Country; this Oliver Cromwell was descended by a Daughter from the famous Cromwell in the Time of Harry the Eighth,

Eighth, from this Ancestor, who was one of the first Fanaticks in England, Oliver seems to have deriv'd his Enthusiasm, which now meeting with more Power, and Malice, was more fatal; this Person, from a very private Gentleman, by running in with the Humour of the Times, which was Whining, Canting, and Preaching, had rais'd himself by Degrees to the supreme Command in the Army: Whether or no he was really so great a Man as some People fancy, who always admire successful Villany, we will here inquire: Some of his Contemporaries, in their Memoirs, have deny'd even that which seems his most visible great Quality, his personal Courage; but this Disingenuity we will impute to Pique, and Envy, by allowing him a Quality, which is no longer a Virtue than when it is well plac'd; we find it often in Thieves, and Highwaymen, as well as Heroes; and Philosophy calls it only a brutal Ferity,

Ferity, when not founded on a Basis of Prudence, and Justice; as for the other great Endowments both of Body, and Mind, which are the Ladders of Ambition, and have rais'd Men in all Ages and Countries, he seems to have wanted them all, except a profound Dissimulation, and Hypocrisy; his Person was mean, his Aspect unpromising, and his Address awkward, and unbecoming a Gentleman; besides his natural Parts were not extraordinary, nor improv'd by any great Advantages of Education, for he was very ignorant of the Great World, and very illiterate, notwithstanding he had been bred in an University, which is in itself not the best Education to form a great Man; this Want of due Qualifications seems to render him improper for Infuuation, and Popularity, for it is certain that his Aspect and Behaviour were so far from engaging, that to the Contrary, there is a memorable Tradition, that when he was only a private Burges

gess in the Year 41, before he was
 known in the World, or the War
 broke out, Sir *Bevil Granvill*, who was
 a Member of that Parliament, concei-
 ved so mortal a Disgust against the Per-
 son of this *Cromwell*, that he could not
 endure to sit near him in the House,
 and when he was ask'd by his Friends,
 what Reason he had for that Aversion,
 he reply'd, he could give no Account,
 but that his Mind foreboded, that il-
 look'd Fellow would destroy the King;
 a Presagenot more remarkable than true,
 but we have several Instances of the
 like Nature in Story: So that after all,
 we must ascribe this extraordinary Rise
 to a strange Conjunction of Circumstan-
 ces in the Time he liv'd, which as they
 never happen'd in the World before, so
 probably never may again, for a Man to
 raise his Fortune by Preaching and
 Praying, which were the only Talents
 that first recommended him to this Fa-
 natick Army, a Profession which in
 other Ages, and Countries, never
much

much minded Religion: Upon this Consideration we may rationally conclude, that had he been born in *England* at any other Time, he would have been no more than *Oliver Cromwell*, and if in *France*, never had a Regiment of Horse.

Nevertheless we now see him vested with the supream Authority, and, under the Title of Protector, arm'd with more Power than what our Laws, and Constitution, allow to our lawful Kings; this Usurpation was the more easily submitted to by the People, by Reason of their Uneasiness under the late Government, after whose Expulsion they thought no Change could make their Condition worse: Here we cannot but observe a Circulation of Justice on all Parties who had a Share in the Rebellion against *Charles the First*, it being the Method of Providence to make wicked Men the mutual Instruments of one another's Punishment; the *Scots*, who first led the Dance by
an

an Invasion of *England* with their Solemn League and Covenant, we have seen chastis'd, and at last finally subdu'd by their ungrateful Brethren in *England*, whom they supported in the War against their common Prince; the Presbyterian Party expell'd by the Independent Rump, and now those Wretches themselves dissolv'd, and turn'd out of Doors, to the Derision of the whole Nation, by their own Creature, and Servant, who assum'd their Authority, and tyrannically exercis'd an absolute Power, lodg'd in a single Person, contrary to his own, and the constant Declarations of his Party.

This usurp'd Title he made a shift to defend during his own Life, notwithstanding the frequent Conspiracies of all Parties to destroy him; however, it is certain that his Affairs were in a very ill Condition before he died, for he found his Parliaments refractory, and not to be manag'd as he expected, insomuch that one of them presum'd

to question the very Authority that brought them together, upon which he was forc'd to dissolve them, without doing his Business; besides there began to be great Factions in the Army form'd against him, even by his own Kinsmen, and Creatures, who, by the same Power that had first rais'd him, in all probability would have pull'd him down again, being reduc'd to very great Straits for Want of Money, which Necessities put him upon Projects of getting that Abroad which he could not at Home; this Consideration induc'd him to side rather with *France*, than *Spain*, the last being an Enemy that could yield him greater Booty and Plunder; besides the Hopes of which, he was a Pensioner to Cardinal *Mazarine*, who supply'd him with great Sums of Money.

This false Politick of *Cromwell*, in assisting *France* against *Spain*, gave the first Shock to the Balance of *Europe*, and was the Rise of the present *French* Great-

Greatness, at this Time so formidable to their Neighbours; the Weight of *England* in the Scale made the *French* too heavy for the *Spaniard*, and brought on the *Pyrenean* Treaty, in which that Match was concluded, which has brought *French* Heirs to the Crown of *Spain*, one of whom is now at this Day sitting on that Throne to the Terrour of *Europe*, on which he had never mounted if the same Causes had not concurr'd to produce the same Effects.

The Success of our Arms in this War gave great Reputation to the *English*, who deserv'd to have been train'd in a better Quarrel than that, which had made them so good Soldiers: These Triumphs in *Flanders* happen'd opportunely to recompence our Disgraces in the *West Indies* before, where the *English*, making a rash and ill concerted Descent upon *Hispaniola*, were shamefully defeated by a Handful of *Spaniards* and Negroes; this Disappointment was no small Mortification to

Cromwell, who had promis'd himself Mountains of Gold from this Expedition, which proving abortive, made his Circumstances more necessitous, a Sense of which, and an ill Prospect of his Affairs, together with the Loss of his beloved Daughter *Cleypole*, made so great an Impression on his Spirits, as to affect his Health, and fling him into the Distemper of which he died; during his Sickness, he fell into frequent Deliriums and Ravings, at which Time that false Spirit of Religion, which had so long seduc'd him, being more inflam'd by the Malignity of his Fever, burst into blasphemous Raptures, and pretended Revelations of that Mercy, which he had so long abus'd, and even now to the last, by a final Impenitence.

On his Death-bed, by a Nuncupative Will, he declared his Son *Richard* his Successor, who enjoy'd the Protectorship some Time, being complimented by the whole Nation on his Accession

sion to the Government in Congratulatory Addresses from every Burrough, and Body Politick in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, with the most solemn Assurances of Lives, and Fortunes; nevertheless the same People in a few Weeks, saw him sink without drawing one Sword in his Quarrel. This was the first Instance of these Addresses, by which Princes may see how little they may rely on this Sort of Compliment. The Commonwealth Faction, and that Party in the Army who had combin'd against the Father, found it much easier to compass their Designs on the Weakness, and Incapacity of the Son, who wanted his Father's Vigilance to foresee, and Resolution to obviate Dangers, for Want of which last Quality, he was pull'd down by the mutinous Army, and divested of his Authority.

Thus, after a Reign of nine Months, ended *Richard's* mock Government; on which, the Army, divided in their

Councils according to their several Views, not knowing well what to do, were forc'd to recal the Rump to the Exercise of their Authority.

These frequent Changes in Government not only made the *English* Nation ridiculous Abroad, but puzzel'd foreign Ministers, residing here, how to behave themselves, what Parties to court, to whom address, or indeed how to direct their Memorials, for the Names and Titles varied with every Form of Government; sometimes a Parliament, then Protector, then Parliament again, Juncto's, Committies of Safety, &c. all which Confusions are the necessary Consequences of Folly and Faction, when Men leave the beaten Parths prescrib'd by the Laws, and ancient Constitution, to follow the Systems of their own wild Imaginations, by Attempts above their Genius; such was the present Case, Men not qualified by Birth or Education, but rais'd from the Stall, or the Dray, were advanc'd

vanc'd to the supream Dignities, and made Companions to Princes; how awkward this Greatness sat on them, the following Story will demonstrate: There was at this Time a *Genoese* Resident in *England*, who designing to wait on *Scot*, one of the greatest Men in the Council of State, with much ado obtain'd a Direction in Writing where he lodg'd, which was at the Sign of the *Cat and Fiddle* near *St. Clement's* Church, a proper Lodging for such a Minister of such a Republick as the Rump; this Direction was more ridiculous in *Italian*, the Language in which it was written, by Reason of the Pompous Titles which that ceremonious People give to all Persons of Distinction.

But it was not long before the Army began to quarrel with the Parliament, whom they had just restor'd; this Insolence was so resented by the Representatives of the People, as they call'd themselves, that they ventur'd to break several Leading Officers, and vacate

their Commissions; the Chief of these was *Lambert*, the most considerable, and active Man in the Army since the Death of *Cromwell*, whose Steps the same Ambition prompted him to follow: *Lambert*, finding this Resolution in the Parliament, thought fit to put an End to their Authority, in Order to which he sent Soldiers to possess the Avenues leading to *Westminster*, and prevent their Sitting; this Violence determin'd the Power of the Rump for this Time: Thus the Men, who made such an Outcry when their lawful Prince only enter'd their House to demand five Members whom he accus'd of Treason, must now be contented to be pull'd by the Ears, and insulted by Ruffianly Soldiers, at the Beck of a Serjeant.

The Army, having thus expell'd the Members, arrogated to themselves the Government, for the Management of which they erected a Council call'd, a Committee of Safety, consisting of 23 Persons; these frequent Distractions
gave

gave an Opportunity to the Renown'd General *Monk* to put in Execution that Glorious Design of rescuing his Country, whose Convulsions no Remedy could cure, but a Restitution of the King to his Crown, and the People to their Liberties.

In Order to this, having first modelled his Army by cashiering the disaffected Officers, he march'd out of *Scotland* on Pretence of defending the Parliament against the Army, and making the Military Power subservient to the Civil; the Plausibility of this Declaration met with universal Concurrence, upon which, *Fleetwood*, who commanded the Army, and was a Man of shorter Views, and less Ambition than *Lambert*, seeing a general Defection towards *Monk*, was forc'd to restore the Parliament; in the mean While *Monk*, by slow Marches, approach'd the Town, having first with great Address perswaded the Parliament to remove the disaffected Troops into distant Quarters, and so make Way

for his own at *London*, where he was no sooner arriv'd, after publick Thanks from the Parliament for the great Services he had done them, but he was commanded on a Piece of Service that had like to have ruin'd all his Designs; this was, to chastise the Insolence of the City, who had been refractory to their Masters the Parliament, and refus'd to pay Taxes; this Order he obey'd with great Violence to his Inclinations, but there was no Third Party to take, he must either submit, or quit his Commission: The Parliament, in this Command to General *Monk*, had a double View, one was, to humble and reduce the City, and the other, to make *Monk* odious, and loose his Interest among the Citizens; for *Haselrig*, and the leading Republicans, began to grow jealous of him upon his Refusal to take the Oath of Abjuration, by which he must have renounc'd the Interest of *Charles Stuart*, as they then call'd the King; tho' a Refusal of this
impious

impious Oath might have unravell'd all
 his Designs, and so have prevented his
 intended Rescue of his Country, how-
 ever, conducted by that noble Princi-
 ple of not doing Evil that Good might
 come of it, he would rather have lost
 his Commission, and all his Hopes, than
 enter into so horrid a Sacrament; but
 his great Address furnish'd him with
 Shifts to evade this Oath for the pre-
 sent; upon this Account he was the
 more willing to obey the Parliament in
 pulling down the City Chains, and
 Posts, that by this Compliance he
 might give them a good Opinion of his
 Devotion to their Service, tho' at the
 same Time underhand he took Care to
 inform the Citizens, how unwilling he
 was to obey these violent Commands;
 this private Remonstrance preserved
Monk in the good Opinion of the City,
 and the more enrag'd them against the
 Parliament; the Interest that the Ge-
 neral found he had in the City, gave
 him the greater Encouragement to exe-
 cute

cute his Designs of restoring the secl^d Members to their Seats in the House, notwithstanding all the Opposition of the Fanatick Party: This Point once carried, there only wanted a voluntary Dissolution of this long Parliament, to make Way for another more free Representation of the People, who, being left to themselves, no longer scrupled what they should do, but restor'd the King and Royal Family to their Right, from which they had so long by an arm'd Violence been detain'd.

Thus, after so many vain Efforts of the noblest, richest, greatest Part of the Nation, was accomplish'd this miraculous Revolution, by the prudent Management of one Brave Man, who, by a wonderful Address in the Management of this Affair, shew'd himself as Great in his Cabinet, as at the Head of his Army.

As an Affair of this Nature required the greatest Secrecy, so very few Persons

sons were intrusted, among whom Sir *John Granvill* was the principal Negotiator, whose Family, as they had the Honour to defend the Royal Cause, with their Blood in the Field, so they had the Happiness to be the immediate Instruments of this Glorious Revolution.

The more we think of this wonderful Turn, we shall meet still fresh Matter of Surprise, and Astonishment; for when we consider that the whole Nation, weary of the Tyranny, under which they had so long groan'd, wish'd for nothing more than the Restauration of the King, it seems a Wonder that such a Change should not sooner happen; but on the other Hand, when we reflect on the Difficulties to be overcome, so many entangled Interests to be unravelled, so many Parties united, an Army averse to Kingly Government, and most of them dipp'd in the Guilt of the late King's Blood, for which they could expect no Mercy, to be made
subservient

subservient to Designs, to which their Principles were so contrary, we may more wonder that so hazardous an Enterprize should ever succeed ; nor could it at last, without the immediate Interposition of that Power, by which the World is govern'd, the signal Footsteps of whose Providence were never more adorably conspicuous, than in the happy Conduct of this Great Revolution.

The new Convention was no sooner met, but both Houses immediately pass'd a Vote to declare the Government of *England*, according to the Constitution, in King, Lords, and Commons ; by this they recogniz'd his Title, and soon after sent respective Members from each House to invite *Charles* the Second to the Exercise of his just Authority ; never was so sudden a Change in the Passions of Men, as now in the Royal Party, who were lifted from the Bottom of Despair to the highest Transports of Joy, by a Turn,
that

that converted Darkneſs into Light, Confuſion into Order, Want, Rapine, and Violence, into Peace, Plenty, and Liberty.

The King was at this Time in the Territories of the States, having liv'd for the moſt Part in the Dominions of *Spain*, ever ſince he was oblig'd to quit *France*, upon the Treaty between that Crown, and *Cromwell*, all which Time, notwithstanding the Neceſſity of their Affairs made the *French* incapable of an open Protection, however, underhand, they ſupply'd the King with Money, ſo that moſt of the Bread that he and the Royal Family eat, even in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, where he met with more Compliments than real Aſſiſtance, was bought with *French* Money; this is a Secret not commonly known, or believ'd, but being Truth, it is Juſtice to acknowledge it.

The King had no ſooner receiv'd the Addreſſes, and Invitations of his People, but he prepar'd to return into his
native

native Country, and take Possession of that Crown, to which he had so undisputed a Right: He made his
 1660. Entry into *London* on the 29th of *May*, a Day doubly auspicious for his Birth, and Return; never was Cavalcade more Illustrious, than this Triumphant Entry into the Capitol City; whether we consider the Greatness, and Sincerity of the Joy, the Solemnity of the Spectacle, the August Majesty of the Persons, who were three Brothers, the finest Princes of *Europe*, all in the Flower of their Age, riding thro' the Acclamations of the People agitated with the different Passions of Joy, and Shame, Joy to see them return'd at last, and ashamed to have injur'd them so long.

Such was the auspicious Restoration of *Charles* the Second, a Prince of extraordinary Virtues, and some few Faults, most of which proceeded rather from his Fortune, and Circumstances, than his Nature, but his good Qualities very
 much

much out-ballanc'd the other; for besides a sublime, and elevated Genius, that seem'd turn'd for Business, if not diverted by his Pleasures, he had very great natural Parts, a penetrating Judgment, and no small Knowledge of Men; with these Advantages he made a Shift to rub thro' the Difficulties of no short Reign, in which, by an almost necessary Insincerity, he just kept himself above Water; whereas a little more of his Father's or Brothers, rigid Honesty would inevitably have sunk, and perhaps have given him their Fate.

The Duke of York seem'd made in another Mould, and to be the Antipodes of his Brother in Temper, and Disposition; *Charles* was loose, voluptuous, and too much a Libertine; *James* was grave, severe, devout, and tho' he now and then fell into the same Disorders with his Brother, as to Women, those Weaknesses seem'd but transient Passions in him, which were
constant

constant Habits in the other; *Charles* was forgetful of his Friends, and kind to his Enemies, by which false Politick he endeavour'd to reclaim a Sort of People, whom no Obligations could make grateful, and neglected those, whom no Injuries could hardly fill with Resentment; the Duke, on the other Hand, was not only just, and constant to his faithful Friends, but terrible to his Enemies, whom he always pursu'd, when they had Power to hurt him, and always forgave when they lay at his Feet; the one seem'd to prefer his Ease, and Interest, to his Reputation, and the other to sacrifice all Things to his Conscience: The King made Indolence, and Pleasure, the sole Objects of his Desires; but the Duke chose rather to deserve, than possess good Fortune.

Notwithstanding these Failings in *Charles* the Second, in Contradiction to the common Fate of our *English* Kings, we must reckon him both among our
good,

good, and happy Princes; his Memory is still ador'd by the People, notwithstanding all the Pains that have been taken of late Years to give them wrong Impressions, but it will be a Task above the Eloquence of a certain Party to perswade Men out of their Senses, who will always be competent Judges of this Truth, while they are able to distinguish between Pain and Pleasure, Want and Plenty.

A Sweetness of Temper, Affability, and Good-nature, were less remarkable in this Prince, by being essential to the Name of *Stuart*; the first Instance of these good Qualities was, his Care in expediting an Act of Oblivion, that he might settle a Quiet in the Minds of his Subjects equal to the Serenity of the Government they had the Happiness to live under: In this Affair he was forc'd to interpose between the Justice of his Parliament, and the Guilt of his Enemies, a greater Number of whom were design'd to be excepted in

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this Act of Indemnity than what the Mercy of this Prince would permit; so that there were but ten Examples made out of so many as were guilty of his Father's Blood; in this Number we find *Hugh Peters*, who being half Buffoon, and half Madman, seem'd a much greater Object of Mercy than *Milton*, who was sav'd for some Reasons I could never hear: This wicked Person had undoubtedly an equal Hand in the King's Blood with the Judges themselves, who pass'd the Sentence; if Writing in Justification of a Crime may be reckon'd a Guilt, the last Offence has this Aggravation in it, of not only endeavouring to wipe away the Blackness, and Odium of the Crime, but to exhort an Imitation of the Example; however, he found so much Respect to his Parts, and Learning, as to be only incapacitated from bearing any Office during Life: Afterward he lost his Sight, it seeming equitable that he himself should want Eyes, who, by a
dazzling

dazzling Light of a false Rhetorick in his impious Writings, had blinded so many of his deluded Countrymen, and led them into the Ditches of Error, Schism, and Rebellion. 1660.

These necessary Acts of Justice being pass'd, and the Government settled on such lasting Foundations as promised nothing but Peace and Happiness, the young Monarch, voluptuous in his Nature, and too much resign'd to his Pleasures, seem resolv'd to make amends for the Chagrine of so long an Exile, by enjoying the Rest of Life; this made him neglect taking such Measures as would not only have secur'd his own Quiet and Safety, but that of his Successors. As all Turns of State are generally violent and precipitate, this Prince, at his first Accession to the Throne, found a Disposition in his People to have made him as great, and absolute, as a reasonable Ambition could have desir'd; for thro' Conscience of their late Injustice they thought they

could not do too much to recompence a Family, whom they had so undeservedly injur'd; besides, the wrong and popular Notions of Liberty, which had been so fatal to them, were now exploded; they had too dearly bought the Experience of their Errours, and the Consequences were too fresh in their Memories of pursuing Chimerical Notions of ill grounded Dangers, a wrong Sense of which had involv'd them in all their Troubles; this made the People of *England*, now newly return'd to their Senses, the more willing to trust that Power in the Prince, which they had found they could not manage themselves, but to their own Destruction.

But *Charles*, thro' an Indolence in his Temper, or else wholly guided by the Councils of the Chancellor, rejected all Advances that were offer'd to make him Easy, Safe, and Great; how that Minister came afterwards to fall into the Odium of a Party to whom he was
so

so serviceable, is a Mistry, for he was the fatal Person who advis'd his Master to court his Enemies, and neglect his Friends, by which false Politick the Interest of the Royal Family has been destroy'd; besides this, several other Councils were given by the same Person, that seem more popular than arbitrary, for he prevented such a Revenue being settled on the Crown, as would have made the Kings of *England* not so dependant; notwithstanding all these Services, this Great Man was attack'd by a Faction in the House of Commons, and forc'd into Exile, in which he died, leaving his Master by his fatal Mistakes entangled in such Difficulties, as succeeding Ministers without Violence could not unravel.

Among these the chief was, the famous *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who from an old Presbiterian, either thro' Ambition, or Inconstancy, was intirely come over to the Royal Party; this Minister was a Man

of extraordinary Parts, great Knowledge of the World, and Application to Business, but of no Principle, Honour, or Conscience, in Confirmation of which, he had chalk'd out a Way for the King his Master to have trampled on the Necks of his People, and to have been as absolute as the Great Mogul; but *Charles*, thro' a Diffidence in his Nature, and Aversion to Enterprizes of Hazard, but chiefly out of a Principle of Generosity that would not permit him to make so ill a Return to a People who had so frankly restor'd him, rejected the pernicious Advice; this mortally disgusted *Shaftsbury*, whose Resentments being more inflam'd afterwards by the King's not concurring in some other of his arbitrary Projects, made him at last break all Measures with the Court, go over to the other Party, and set himself up the Champion of the popular Faction; and as he was a Man violent in his Passions, and implacable in his Malice, he conceiv'd

ceiv'd so mortal an Aversion to the King, that like a baffled Ravisher he resolv'd to ruin that Virtue which he could not debauch.

The first ten Years after the Restoration the King maintain'd his Authority; in the Year 1665 he made a successful War on the *Dutch*, in which the Duke of York, commanding as Lord High Admiral, by his Conduct and Courage confirm'd the Reputation he so justly had acquir'd, by such a Presence of Mind in the greatest Dangers, such a wonderful Firmness, Intrepidity, and Contempt of Life, as would have been Rashness in a common Tar-paulin, and more proper for a Cadet, who had no other Prospect to make his Fortune; but such is the Disingenuity of a certain Party, who never allow any Virtues in their Enemies, that this conspicuous Quality has been of late disputed.

Till about this Time the Duke had prudently conceal'd his Religion, but

afterwards by Degrees he began to grow suspected of being inclin'd to a Faith which would be disadvantageous to the Interest of a Prince who was one Day to mount the Throne of *England*, to which he was undoubted Heir upon his Brother's Want of Children; but it was not long before his Sincerity, not the least conspicuous among his other Virtues, made it plain, that he was of a different Religion from that of his Country: The Openness of this Conduct gave the Malice of his Enemies an Opportunity to undermine a Prince, whose Virtue they apprehended might be one Day fatal to a Faction, who were resolv'd not only to ruin the Duke, but extirpate the Royal Family, and thro' his Brother's Sides destroy the King himself, who indeed at the Bottom was of the same Principles as to Religion; however, considering his profound Dissimulation in this Point, his Enemies had no just Grounds to suggest to them an Opinion of his being a Catholick,

Catholick, which remain'd a Secret till the only Time that Men seldom dissemble.

It is certain that this Hypocrisy preserv'd the King from the Fury of that Storm, which not long after attack'd the Crown, and on the other Hand, the contrary Ingenuity ruin'd the Duke of York when he came to possess one, who made himself amends for the Loss of all other Interests, by preserving the most preferable Good, that happy Peace of Mind, which results from a good Conscience.

About the Year 70, that Republican Spirit, which seem'd extinct at the Restoration, began to kindle again from its Embers, and flame anew; the War, which soon after was declar'd against the *Dutch*, gave the *Hydra* Faction an Opportunity to erect their Heads, and hiss again.

The Insolence of the *Dutch*, their repeated Injuries to the *English* Nation, the Cries of our Merchants, and the absolute

solute Necessity of supporting our Com-
 merce against the Avarice of so power-
 ful a Rival, who daily ravish'd away
 our Trade, made a War against that
 People highly justifiable; besides all
 which, if there were no other Ground
 of a Quartel, the Personal Affronts of-
 fer'd to the King in their daily Lam-
 poons, and scurrilous Paintings, of which
 no Redress could be obtain'd, tho' of-
 ten demanded, were a just Provocation
 for any Soverain Prince to draw his
 Swords, and chastise such Insolence; if
 private Men think themselves oblig'd
 to vindicate their injur'd Honour, How
 much more Sacred are the Characters,
 and Persons of Princes? But it was not
 the Case of *Charles* alone, the *French*
 King had his Share of the Affront,
 which made it seem the common Cause
 of Majesty to vindicate the Honour of
 Crown'd Heads from the Attacks of an
 insolent People, who elated with their
 Riches, and Power, seem'd to insult
 the rest of Mankind.

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The Success of this War was answerable to the Justice of the Cause; the French, with an uninterrupted Torrent of Victory, over-ran almost the seven Provinces, and in one stupendous Campaign made themselves Masters of so many Towns, as to humble and reduce that proud Commonwealth within those Bounds, which, it is the Interest of her trading Neighbours she should never exceed.

On this Occasion, my Lord Shaftsbury, who was then in the Ministry, made the Famous Speech, *Delenda est Carthago*, the wisest and honestest Advice that Person ever gave; that the Interest of England, and Holland, as to Trade, are incomparable, is so plain and obvious, that nothing more shews the false Politicks of Queen Elizabeth in this Point, than her permitting those revolted Provinces to form themselves into a Republick; that it was her Interest to support them against Spain is certain, but she should have stopp'd there,
and

and not have suffer'd them to make themselves a free State: If the *Dutch* had still continu'd subject to the *Spaniard*, whose Genius and Politicks are not turn'd to Industry, and Improvements, the People of these Provinces had to this Day been Fishermen, while the *Englisb*, for this last Century, would have had the sole Commerce of the Universe, with all the Consequences of so vast and uninterrupted a Trade, immense Riches, greater Numbers of People, and every Man's Estate proportionably increas'd; while the *Dutch* themselves, compell'd to fly hither for Shelter, would have been at this Day Subjects in that Country, of which they lately were too much Masters.

To this may be objected, that we should at this Time have wanted *Holland* as a Barrier against the present Power of *France*; but this Objection is easily refuted; for if the Shipping and Force of *England* and *Holland*, as now Confederated, are a Match at this Day
for

for *France*, How much stronger would the same Power be when center'd in one Point? If we had the Money, People, Manufactures, Strength, and Shipping of *Holland*, in this Island join'd to our own, most of which we should have had if they had never been a Republick, with the Advantage of Situation, *England* would have been an inexhaustible Magazine of Men, Money, and Arms, and at this Day one great Garrison, and invincible; besides, if we had all along had no Rival of the *Dutch*, it would have been more our Interest, as well as more feasible, to have prevented the immoderate Growth of *France* these last fifty Years.

The wonderful Success of *France* alarm'd the Republican Party, they could not without the last Regret see their dear Brethren reduc'd to such Distress; upon this, they rais'd such a Clamour, as oblig'd the King to recal his Troops in the *French* Service; the popular Apprehensions which these Men rais'd,
and

and the ill Blood that they made towards the King, laid the Foundation of those Distempers, and Animosities, under which the Nation labour'd for several Years, all which were inflam'd, and brought on the Popish Plot, the ill Consequences of which we so sensibly feel at this very Day: That happy Unanimity, which had cemented the Affections of the People from the Restoration to this Time, began to be interrupted, and the Nation broken into those fatal Divisions, which have never since been clos'd.

As Cavalier and Roundhead, in the late Civil Wars, distinguish'd the two contending Parties, so now Whig and Tory, both Names of Contempt, and Obloquy, mutually given one another by the opposite Sides; under the Banners of these two Factions were rang'd the Nobility, Gentry, and the whole Body of the People; the Whigs follow'd the Steps, and Maxims, of their Predecessors in 41; the other Party, acting

acting upon true Principles of Honour, Conscience, and Justice, thought themselves oblig'd to defend the Monarchy, the Church, and fundamental Constitutions; while the others, by the Measures they took, made it manifest to the unprejudiced Part of Mankind, that they aim'd at nothing less than the Subversion of the establish'd Government; in Order to this, they thought the best Expedient was to exclude the Duke of York from his Birth-right, contrary to the Custom and Laws of *England* at that Time, and all Hereditary Countries; to compass this Design, the Faction drove with Fury to accomplish their own, and the Ruin of their Country; to which End they left no Stone unturn'd, all their Address, Canning, and Industry, were now highly necessary to prepare the Spirits of the People for so dangerous an Attack on their Constitution, but the Authority, and Reputation of the Duke, acquir'd by his long Services to his Country, were too

too strongly founded to be easily shaken; they thought it expedient therefore to tumultuate them with Fears, and Jealousies, before they were capable of concurring with such a Design; in Order to this, the Popish Plot, which broke out at this Time, was laid hold on, the secret Springs and Management of which Affair will very much puzzle Posterity, and appear the most dark and intricate Juncture of Time in the *English* History; my Lord *Shaftsbury*, who now had abandon'd the Interests of his Master, and, tho' loaded with Benefits, was become his mortal Enemy, was the chief Support of the Faction, who design'd the Ruin of the Duke; by him was encourag'd, and abett'd, the chief Evidence who discover'd this Plot, the infamous *Titus Oates*, the most flagitious of Mankind, abandon'd in his Morals, desperate in his Fortune, and every Way qualify'd to be subservient to the greatest of Villanies, in which he might
have

have succeeded, even to the hanging half the Nation, if his Sense or Cunning had been equal to his Impudence, and Malice, in which he perseveres to this Day, and has the Confidence to look in the Face of Men, and Heaven whose Justice he braves by so long and unshaken an Impenitence.

It is incredible what a Ferment the Discovery of this Plot rais'd in the Minds of the People, and seem'd to turn their Brains, nothing but Massacres, Invasions, Legions of Pilgrims armed with black Bills, fill'd the Thoughts, and frighted the Imaginations of the deluded Rabble, who fancy'd every Breath of Wind the March of Troops, and mistook, in their pannick Fears, Herds of Cattle, for French Dragoons.

It is certain that the first Discovery was encourag'd by Charles himself, and the Earl of Danby then Lord Treasurer, with a Design to get Money of the Parliament, and afterwards carried on by my Lord Shaftsbury, who snatch'd the

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Game

Came out of their Hands, declaring
 that since they had started a Hate, he
 would run her down: This Dissimula-
 tion and little Artifice some Men may
 call Policy or King-craft, but Religion
 and Morality will give it another Name,
 and fix this Weakness and Pusillanimity
 among the Blemishes of this Reign, es-
 pecially when we consider the dismal
 Consequences on the Lives, Honours,
 and Estates, of so many Men, whose
 Innocence appear'd afterwards by the
 Conviction, on Record, of the Evidence
 against them, as well as the dying Af-
 firmations of Protestants, as well as Catho-
 licks, with the most solemn and dread-
 ful Affirmations at the Time, and
 Place, where Charity forbids us to be-
 lieve Men dare dissemble; otherwise
 certainly nothing can be so unaccoun-
 table, as that out of such a Number,
 as were put to Death, not one Person
 should be induc'd, by the greatest of
 Temptations, to save his Life at the
 Expence of telling Truth, for a Par-
 don

tion was offer'd to every individual Man;
on Condition he would own himself
guilty.

To this will be objected, that the
Principles of that Religion in which
most of these Men died, allow a Dis-
simulation even to the last Gasp, but
Experience will demonstrate the Falsity
of this Opinion; the Catholicks who
were executed for the Powder Treason,
a Villany so aggravated in all it's Cir-
cumstances, as to make any Man very
much ashamed to own it, all ingenu-
ously avow'd their Crime, and not on-
ly the Laity, but *Garnet* the Jesuit, an
Order not much celebrated for Sincer-
ity, acknowledg'd his Guilt at the Place
of Execution, and exhorted those of his
own Communion to take Warning by
his Example; besides this, we have a
fresher Instance very lately in those Ro-
man Catholicks who were executed for
the Assassination Plot, who by the frank
Confession which they made, must con-
vince the World, that they thought them-

selves oblig'd to tell Truth when they came to die: This Ingenuity has given as great a Blow to the Credit of *Oates*, as that Cloud of irreproachable Witnesses, who so clearly proved his Perjuries.

Among the other Victims, my Lord *Stafford* was sacrific'd at this Time; this Nobleman, tho' by his Character and Manner of Life, he was the least qualify'd for the Post ascrib'd to him, or likely to be engag'd in such a Design, was nevertheless pick'd out of the other Lords, to give the greater Credit to the Plot, by the Opinion which the Faction had of his Inability to defend himself; but such is the Power of Truth, and Rhetorick of Innocence, that never was a more noble Defence made by any Person, whose Parts and Education had not more qualify'd him, for such an unequal Combat, against the Law, Chicanery, and Learning of his violent, and numerous Prosecutors, who baited the poor Old Man so many Days together: Nevertheless, such was

his

his Fate, tho' he had the Misfortune to be condemn'd, he had the Satisfaction, and Happiness, to die innocent, for a Proof of which, soon afterward, when the Eyes of the Nation began to be open'd, his Case appear'd so hard, that the Legislature thought themselves oblig'd in Honour and Conscience to do Justice to his Family, by reversing his Attainder; as for those who had the Misfortune to be the chief Promoters of his Prosecution, considering the Absurdity, Contradiction, and moral Impossibilities of the Evidence against him, they are very much oblig'd to the Charity of those, who have a better Opinion of their Honesty than Good Sense.

But tho' Men of the best Sense, and Knowledge of the World, were justly startled at some Absurdities of this Story, however the Faction had the main End of their Design in deceiving the Majority, who now, full of these ill Impressions, were in a fit Temper to vio-

late the Laws of their Country, the ancient Constitution, and the Principles of common Justice, by concurring to the Ruin of a Prince, whom his Enemies had branded with the Guilt of Treason and Parricide: To this End, the long Parliament, which had sat for eighteen Years, was dissolv'd by the Intrigues of the Faction, who knew them not staunch enough to join in the Subversion of a Constitution, of whose happy Restoration they had been Witnesses.

The succeeding Parliament consisted of Men, whose Principles made them more proper for such a Turn; upon which the Bill of Exclusion was brought into the House of Commons, notwithstanding the King endeavour'd with all his Interest and Authority to discountenance that unprecedented Proceeding; which, he was satisfy'd, thro' the Sides of his Brother aim'd at himself; never any Times had so much the Air of an as this Juncture, when we consider the

Rage,

Rage, Obstinacy, and Power of the Faction, the Precariousness of the King's Circumstances, and the imminent Dangers that threaten'd both his Authority and Person, upon a Refusal to gratify their unreasonable Demands, so that there only wanted an Incapacity in the Crown to dissolve the Parliament, to have involv'd us again in the same Calamities.

The King, finding so ill a Temper in his Parliaments at this Time, left no Expedient untry'd to moderate their Fury; he first sent his Brother into Flanders, and afterwards into Scotland, in Hopes that his Absence would cool the Rage and Malice of his Enemies; with both these Kinds of Banishments, notwithstanding his Removal, might prove so detrimental to his Interest in such a Juncture, the Duke readily comply'd, that he might convince the World how well he understood to discharge every Office of Life, by shewing himself now the most obedient of Subjects,

jests, but he prov'd afterwards the best
 of Masters. But the King found him-
 self mistaken; the Absence of his Bro-
 ther, instead of qualifying the Rancour
 against him, encouraged his Enemies to
 pursue him with greater Violence; so
 that now he saw his Error, in apply-
 ing Lenitives and Remonstrations, where
 only Incisives and Corrosives could pre-
 vail; he had to do with a Faction,
 whom Compliance and Gentleness made
 insolent, and the contrary Treatment
 submissive; nothing but that Firmness,
 and Resolution, which Experience and
 Necessity obligt him afterwards to use,
 could obviate the Danger, and quell
 the Sedition, which now grew more
 outrageous; the Bill of Exclusion had
 pass'd the Lower House, and was sent
 up to the Lords, where it miscarried by
 the Piety, Honesty, and Courage of the
 Bishops, whose Principles, at that Time
 thought the Characteristicks of the
 Church of England, we have since seen
 turn'd into Ridicule by the impious
 Buffoonry

Buffonery of a Set of Men, who are
 declar'd Enemies to all Revel'd Reli-
 gion, and consequently to the Noblest
 Doctrine of Christianity; Violence, Me-
 naces, and Tumults, were not the only
 Engines the Faction employ'd to batter
 the King's Constancy, they attack'd
 him on the weaker Side, and laid hold
 of his most dangerous Passion, to de-
 stroy his Honour, and Conscience; the
 Dutches of *Portsmouth* was brib'd into
 the Interest of the Cabal, whose repea-
 red Assaults gave the King an Oppor-
 tunity to shew the World a Courage and
 Resolution, which partly atton'd for his
 other Weaknesses. *Charles*, finding all Methods inef-
 fectual to reduce his People thus tu-
 multuated, resolv'd to dissolve the
 Parliament, and call no more at *West-*
minster, where the Neighbourhood of
 so populous, opulent, and seditious a
 City, supported the Insolence of the
 Faction. *Oxford* therefore was thought
 the most proper Place after *London* to
 receive

receive such Numbers, by Reason of the Schools, and other publick Buildings, that could easily contain both Houses of Parliament; besides, the Scholars, at this Time firm in their Principles, were almost unanimous on the Royal Side, and might help to defend the King, if attack'd by the Faction, as he had just Reason to apprehend.

The Change of Air could not cure a radicated Distemper, the Poison had spread too wide, and taken too strong hold, to be easily expell'd; the *Westminster* Sedition equally rag'd at Oxford, the Bill of Exclusion was resum'd, and the same violent Methods pursu'd; this Conduct in the Parliament convinc'd the King, that there was a Necessity of taking other Courses, and now there only wanted Resolution to produce the most happy Event, this noble Quality after some Struggle having once acquir'd, the Parliament having sat but a few Days, he unexpectedly

edly appear'd in the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, with an unusual Air of Briskness and Authority in his Countenance, with one Blast of his Breath, scatter'd and annihilated the Faction.

Never was such Confusion, such a Consternation, as appear'd in the Faces of these guilty Men, who, thro' Conscience of their own ill Designs, were now apprehensive of the same Dangers they had prepared for others; this happy Dissolution restor'd the King to his just Authority, and the Nation to that Quiet, which had so long before been interrupted by these fatal Seditions.

The Party, thus Thunder-struck, and astonish'd, shifted every one for himself in the last Confusion, so that by this fortunate Surprise was prevented their flagitious Design of seizing the King's Person at this Meeting, in which Attempt, tho' probably they might have succeeded, by the vast arm'd Re-

tinue

tinuo which all the considerable Men
 of the Party brought with them, so as
 to make this Assembly have more the
 Air of a *Polish* tumultuary Diet, than
 a peaceable *English* Parliament; How-
 ever, they justly apprehended, that this
 bare fac'd Violence offer'd to the King's
 Person might open the Eyes of the Na-
 tion, who returning to a Sense of their
 Duty, would think themselves oblig'd
 to rescue their Prince; to obviate this
 Danger, they had a Reserve left, which
 was the Assistance of an Army, and
 General from *Holland*, to have suppor-
 ted their Designs, on the Pretence of
 securing the Protestant Religion, but all
 being quash'd by the unexpected Disso-
 lution of this Parliament, that design'd
 Revolution was deferr'd for some few
 Years: By this we may see, how easy
 it is for a King of *England* to be Master,
 when he acts with Resolution on a
 right Bottom, the Vindication of his
 just Prerogative, and legal Authority;
 wonderful were the Effects of this Con-
 duct

duft in *Charles*, who, by giving the ill Humours Time to subside, and calling no more Parliaments during this great Ferment, made the rest of his Life appear the only Part of his Reign.

This fatal Blow given to the Faction, broke all their Measures, and made the Nation return to their Senses, who seeing the villainous Designs of their factious Leaders, from every Part of the three Kingdoms, by the most solemn Addresses testify'd their Abhorrence of such Men, and Principles, as had almost led them to the Brink of Destruction.

The following Scenes of this King's Life were uninterrupted by any Troubles, or Misfortunes, for he had no sooner convinc'd his People that he knew how to govern, but they soon shew'd him they knew how to obey, so that nothing of Moment happen'd afterwards, but the Whig, or Fanatick Plot, in the Year 83, one of the most impious and execrable Treasons that
ever

ever harbour'd in the Breasts of *Bigots*, being no less than a Design to assassinate the Royal Brothers at one Time, in their Return from *Normandy*; of this Affair it will be unnecessary to give any further Account, since the World has been oblig'd with a particular History of this Conspiracy from the Pen of a celebrated Author, the present Bishop of *Rochester*, who, to the Dignity of his Profession, and the Qualifications of a great Divine, has added the Embellishment of politer Letters, but what is more to his Honour, has all along continu'd firm to the Noble Principles of that Church, who has not in all Ages had the best Friends to her Discipline, and Morals, with Mitres on their Heads.

I shall therefore only make one Remark on this Subject, tho' the Truth of this Conspiracy was confirm'd by the dying Words of every Criminal executed for it; nevertheless that abandon'd Party were so harden'd to all

all Sense of Shame, as to call it a Shame
 Plot at this Time; my Lord Russell him-
 self pleaded Misprision, by which he
 acknowledg'd the Truth of the Design,
 tho' he prevaricated, and pretended not
 to consent to the projected Insurrection
 and Rebellion which was carrying on
 by the Council of Six, of which Num-
 ber he was one, while another Class of
 Miscreants, who mov'd in an inferior
 Orb, manag'd the intended Assassina-
 tion at the Rye-House, which, it is to
 be hop'd in Charity, was unknown to
 the others, since they were not charg'd
 with that Part of the Conspiracy at
 their Trials; but notwithstanding they
 had the Assurance to deny it at the
 Time, in less than six Years we heard
 the same Men, with another Sort of Im-
 pudence, glory in the Share they had
 in this horrid Treason; Sincerity not
 being dangerous lately, when it was
 thought no great Crime to have kill'd
 King Charles, and the Duke of York, and
 when the Attainders of Persons, who
 own'd

own'd their Guilt with their last Breath; have been revers'd, when Regicides attainted by Parliament, have been sent for over, in Order to be employ'd, and when that monstrous Cabal of Miscreants, the *Calves-Head-Club*, have the Impudence to celebrate their execrable Festival in the Heart of the Capitol City, and under the Nose of the Magistrate, on the very Day set a Part by the Piety of the Legislature, to deprecate the divine Vengeance impending for the Guilt of Royal, and Innocent Blood.

The Rest of *Charles's* Days, after this great Escape, were a continual Triumph, nothing but Congratulations of his Safety, and Expressions of the People's Tenderness for his Person; when thus Master of his Wishes, and the happy Governor of an obedient People, he was snatch'd away in the 54th Year of his Age, from the Embraces of his Subjects, by a violent Fit of an Apoplexy, in the Agony of which he lay from Monday

day

day till Friday, and then expir'd, leaving, by his prudent Conduct in the last four Years of his Reign, a peaceable Possession of his Throne to his Brother the Duke of York. It has been an Opinion too generally receiv'd, that this Prince was poison'd, but there appearing no such Symptoms of Violence as to convince the World, we ought in Charity to suspend the Belief of such a Wickedness till we have better Testimony; besides, it is very improbable, if the *Deliquium* into which he fell, upon his first being seiz'd, had been the Effect of Poison, that ever he would have come to himself on bleeding, which would have had a contrary Operation, and by drawing the Malignity further into the Vessels, have immediately extinguish'd Life.

Such was the Reign of *Charles* the Second, than whom, no Prince was ever more deeply rooted in the Affections of his People, of which the universal Consternation on his first Sickness is an un-

deniable Proof, for during the Time that his Recovery was doubted, the Churches were constantly fill'd with Votaries, who assaulted Heaven with a holy Kind of Violence, in Hopes their Petitions might extend a Life so dear to his People; nay, the very Fanaticks themselves came in for a Share, and now desir'd a Prolongation of that Breath, which their Madness and Ingratitude would have intercepted before; but when the News of his Death was confirm'd, it is impossible to express the universal Concern that appeared in the Faces of all Ranks, Conditions, and Religions, Enemies, as well as Friends, who all lay undistinguish'd in the common Grief.

Against such a Loss, no-
 James the 2d, thing could support, but
 1684-5. the good Opinion, and
 Hopes, of his illustrious Successor the
 Duke of York, who ascended the Throne
 with all imaginable Advantages, Re-
 putation

putation Abroad and the Esteem of his People at Home, contracted by a long Contemplation of so many Virtues, of which this is a plain Demonstration, that he was not more hated, than esteem'd, even by his Enemies themselves.

Here we approach too much our own Times to venture too near the Heels of Truth, however, we must be very unjust if we deny him any one Quality to make a Prince Great, and his Subjects happy, for he possess'd several Talents that are uncommon to Men of a more extended Genius; he was a Commissioner in his Navy-Office, as well as an Admiral on Board his Fleet, a Teller in his Exchequer, a Carpenter in his Docks and Yards, and a Commissary, as well as General at the Head of his Armies; so that we may venture to affirm, that he understood the Mechanick Part of Government better than any King of *England*; to which must be added, a natural Frugality in

his Temper, the most necessary Quality to make a Prince considerable, and at the same Time his Subjects easy.

The Ancients have taken the Pains to gather the Sayings of Wise, and Great Men, *Plutarch* has made a very large Collection, but among all his Apothegms, there is not one so much deserves to be written in Golden Capitals as what this Prince said on a certain Occasion; just upon his Accession to the Throne he receiv'd his Share of a Dividend in the *African* Company, in which he was an Adventurer as a private Man, after he had look'd over the Account, and given a Receipt to the Gentleman who brought him the Money, which was but 500*l.* as he was putting it into his strong Box, he told him, *That this Money, thus honestly gotten, did him more Good than if a Parliament had given him a Million.* But that which will recommend his Memory was, that unextinguishable Affection which he bore to his native Country,

Country, whose Honour, and Welfare, were always his dearest Concern, that Passion seem'd essential to his very Being, and so deeply impress'd, that no ill Usage could deface; of this Goodness there are a great many Instances to be given, but I shall trouble the Reader with but one: When he was at *Dublin*, the *French* Ambassador, the Count *Devaux*, came transported to tell him the News, that his Master's Fleet, under Monsieur *Chateaurenaud*, had defeated the *English* in *Bantry Bay*; instead of being pleas'd, he let fall the Air of his Countenance, and coldly answer'd, *It is then the first Time*: So much was the Honour of his Country dearer to him, than his own immediate Interest. There are a great many more Examples of the same Kind, all which, considering the Dependance, and Precariousness of his Circumstances in Exile, made his Conduct in this one Point appear more generous than prudent.

How a Prince adorn'd with so many Virtues came to be unfortunate, we must now consider; there can be but one Cause assign'd, which is obvious to all, his Misfortune of being of a different Religion from his Country, the only Obstruction to his own, as well as the Felicity of his People, otherwise he had gone to the Grave loaded with Benedictions, and recommended to the Veneration of future Ages; however, the Difference of Religion would not have been so fatal, if he had not had to do with some People, who made it appear, that they had none at all, if a Violation of all Obligations Divine and Moral, by an unparallel'd Ingratitude, is a Sign of being abandon'd to the last Impiety; some carrying their Contempt of Heaven so far, as to dissemble with their God, and change their Religion, that they might have the better Opportunity to impose on, and betray their King.

By

By the Counsel and Advice of these Men, to whose Conduct he had intirely resign'd himself, was this well-meaning Prince put upon all those illegal Measures which ended in his Ruin; so that we may venture to assert, that the Miscarriages of King *James* were not the Causes of the Revolution, but the Design of a Resolution the Cause of his Miscarriages, so long have we mistaken one for another, the Truth of this is evident by the Consequences; for whereas the Laws of *England* assert, that the King can do no Wrong, and make his Ministers only accountable, in this Case the King alone was punish'd, and the evil Counsellors rewarded.

Never any Reign, with so smiling a Beginning, had so sad a Catastrophe, his Father's very Accession was encounter'd with those ill Omens by the Disaffection, and Stubbornness, of his first Parliament, as presag'd his ensuing Misfortunes; but here, on the contrary, was a mutual Strife whether the

King should be more Gracious, or his People more Complaisant.

But it was not long before this happy Prospect was interrupted by the Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who in the preceding Reign, seduc'd by the Artifices of a Faction, was alienated in his Affections from King *Charles*, and had violated that Duty, which he ow'd to the best of Fathers; that Party of Men made use of the Weakness they found in this Nobleman, to flatter his Hopes of succeeding to the Crown, as they also engag'd in their Interest another Prince on the same Prospect, tho' the real Advantage of either was the least of their Thoughts at this Time, who had no other Design now but a Commonwealth; however, they laid hold of the Vanity and Folly of one, and the Ambition of the other, to make them both subservient to their Designs.

The King was hardly settled on his Throne, when the Duke of *Monmouth*,
hurried

hurried on by his evil Genius, too readily hearken'd to the pernicious Advice of the Fugitives about his Person; these Men, under equal ill Circumstances with the Duke himself, thought they might mend, and could not spoil their Fortunes by the most desperate Attempt, on which Consideration, they push'd him on this Enterprize, for which he was not well prepared, for with a few Arms, and an inconsiderable Sum of Money lent by a Friend at the *Hague*, he landed at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*, attended by about eighty Persons; after which marching into the Country, he found great Numbers of the common People resort to his Banners; these made a great, but tumultuary Force, undisciplin'd, and worse arm'd; while the King prepared to suppress them, for being advertized of the design'd Invasion, by the same Person who had rigg'd out his Enemy, he had sent the Duke of *Albemarle* into the West, to be ready with the Militia against

against the Time of the expected De-
 scent: This Precaution hinder'd great
 Numbers from resorting to *Monmouth*;
 nevertheless, in a few Days, he found
 himself at the Head of an Army confi-
 derable enough to support his Hopes,
 upon this, he pull'd off the Mask, and
 assum'd the Title of King, tho' he
 could have no Sort of Pretence, the
 King his Father having so publickly and
 solemnly disavow'd any Manner of Mar-
 riage with his Mother.

This Pageantry of the Duke, in as-
 suming the Title of King, universally
 surpriz'd, especially in *Holland*, where
 he had promised other Things at his
 Departure; the Prince of *Orange*, whose
 Wife was presumptive Heir, had too
 near an Interest not to be alarm'd at
 this new Meteor of Majesty, that in-
 terpos'd between him, and his Hopes
 of a Crown; on this he hurried over
 the King's Forces in the Service of *Hol-
 land*, which were deny'd before, and
 by repeated Messages assur'd his Father-
 in-law,

in law, how much he was devoted to his Service, offering at the same Time to come over, and in Person command his Troops against the Duke of Monmouth, but the King, thro' his Experience of the World, thinking the Remedy more dangerous than the Disease, civilly excus'd himself from receiving this Compliment; the following Success confirm'd the King's Conduct in this Point, for the Duke was defeated without so dangerous an Auxiliary, and being upon his first landing attainted by Parliament, was soon after executed, having first made some Advances to discover Designs, the Knowledge of which might have prevented Dangers that prov'd afterwards so fatal, but the King's ill Star, and the Guilt of some about him, prevented this *Enclaircissement*; at the same Time the Brave, but Unfortunate Earl of Argyll, as he call'd himself when taken, in Concert with the Duke of Monmouth, was in Arms in Scotland, but with no better Success; this

this Nobleman, by Reason of some very severe Treatment, not to say worse, in the preceding Reign, was by much the most excusable, and most to be pity'd of any who drew a Sword in this Quarrel, nevertheless he perish'd in the Attempt.

The Suppression of these two Insurrections seem'd to rivet the King on his Throne, but such is the Power of Destiny, that here we must end the Halcyon Days of this Reign, which lasted but a few Months; afterwards began to rise those Clouds which shadow'd the Lustre of so auspicious a Beginning, and at last involv'd this Prince in that long Night of Troubles, and Calamities, out of which he was never able to extricate himself; his Ministers, who aim'd at nothing less than the Service and Interest of their Master, laid hold on that unluckly Zeal, which they found in this Prince, to put him upon all those fatal Measures which finish'd his Ruin: This Principle, without which

which Nobody can be a Good Man, in ourselves we call Piety, and when we find it in those of another Perswasion, we give it another Name; by an Abuse of this Warmth in the King, these Men, with a Design to make him odious, introduc'd a Jesuit into the Council, an Order even obnoxious in Catholick Countries. This pernicious Advice, the King's own Reason, and the Interest of the Queen, for three Weeks together oppos'd, but at last overborn by the Importunity of those, who design'd to pave the Way for a Revolution, he submitted to his Fate in this Point, as well as in the other irregular Proceedings, contrary to his Inclinations.

As for the other unhappy Incident, the sending the Bishops to the Tower, which did more Harm than all the rest, the World cannot think the King so unjustifiable, when they know the Truth of that Matter, for it is certain they went to Prison, whether he wou'd or no; for being offer'd, and press'd to
give

give only their Parole for their Appearance, or to be Bail for one another, they absolutely refus'd both; after denying this Satisfaction, and such contemptuous Treatment of their Prince, What could he do less than confine Men who would not accept of Liberty? I mention not this out of any Disrespect, or Ill-will, to those Good Men, some of them are dead, and I honour and revere their Memories, being satisfy'd they made sufficient Attonement for this Infirmity, in sacrificing their All, as well as for that other false Step in refusing to do Justice to the King, and themselves, in declaring their Innocence of a Crime, no less than High Treason, of which all the World knows they were not guilty; for when the King shew'd them the Prince of Orange's Manifesto, in which he declar'd, that he was invited by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, they refus'd to assert their own Innocence, or disavow the Invasion; I know it will
be

be objected, that they could not be certain how far the Prince of *Orange* might be injur'd, and his Pretences just, but natural Allegiance, and the Laws of *England*, as well as all other Countries, oblige the Subject to support and defend their Prince, tho' he is never so much in the Wrong, in any Dispute with a foreign Power, of which private Men are not Judges; but it could not proceed from any Tenderness of Conscience in this Point; because the same Persons soon after the Revolution, upon an Alarm of an Invasion by the late King *James*, being accus'd by an anonymous Scribbler of having invited him over, of their own Accord, unask'd by the Government, or any Body else, met at *Lambeth*, and sign'd an Abhorrence of any Invasion; the Pretensions in this Case were equally known to them, and all the World; if they thought them just, Why did they abhor them? If otherwise, Why did they refuse the Oaths to the Government?

But

But these Infirmities were more excusable in Men, most of them bred in their Studies, and unacquainted with the greater World, which render'd them more liable to be carried away by the popular Torrent, and expos'd to the Craft and Cunning of designing Men, who impos'd upon them: I would willingly have drawn a Curtain over this Part of the Story, and buried it in Oblivion, if I had not been oblig'd, as an Historian, to do Justice to the King, and Truth.

The Dissenters at the same Time ran into all the Measures of the Court, promis'd the King every Thing he ask'd, while at the same Time, underhand, they exasperated the Resentments of the Church; no Wonder a Prince thus beset should miscarry, whose Creatures, and Confidants betray'd him, whose Friends deserted him, while his open Enemies oppress'd him: The Toleration of Religion, which he gave to his dissenting Subjects out of a Principle of Justice

Justice in his Temper, as looking upon himself the common Father of his People, this Action, as it was the most illegal, by assuming a dispensing Power not warranted by our Constitution, so it had the most fatal Consequences by detaching the Church of *England* from his Interest, whose avow'd Principles only taught and inclin'd them to support him; as for those of his own Communion, they wanted Numbers, and Credit to do much Service; but his domestick Enemies could never have compassed his Ruin, without a general Concurrence from Abroad, a great Part of the Catholick World was confederated, to destroy the first Prince of their own Religion which had sat upon the Throne of *England* for an hundred and fifty Years; the King of *Spain*, notwithstanding his Title of Most Catholick, the good Emperor, who every Month lies at the Feet of a Jesuit, and his Holiness himself, all concurr'd to the Ruin

of a Prince, whose fatal Honesty made his Interest and theirs incompatible.

It is certain, the first Design of ruining King James, tho' form'd in the Stone Gallery at *Whitehall*, was afterwards chiefly manag'd at the Courts of *Madrid*, and *Vienna*, and at last brought to Perfection in the Consistory at *Rome*, being the first and only Popish Plot that ever succeeded in *England*; by this we may conjecture, that a certain Reverend Person did not make a Tour into *Italy* upon no other Account but to banter the World with Romantick Relations of his Travels, as also it is plain, that we are in less Danger than we apprehend from the Zeal of that Church, who, for ought we see, is as cool as her Neighbours, in her Spiritual Concerns, when her Temporal Interest comes in the Way.

The universal Discontents in *England*, gave too favourable an Opportunity to the King's Enemies not to be improv'd; a certain neighbouring Commonwealth, who

who always look'd upon the Prosperity of *England* with an Eye of Envy, was not without Reason alarm'd, to see a Prince upon that Throne, of whose Courage, and other great Qualities, they had made so dear an Experiment; they could not without melancholy Reflections observe that Genius in this King, to improve the Trade, Riches, and Interests of his Country; they saw with Admiration, that great OEconomy in the Management of his Revenues, by which he was enabled to pay and cloath an Army of above 14000 Men, upon a better Establishment than most in *Europe*, without burthening his People with a Tax of a Shilling; but what most of all rais'd their Jealousy was, that indefatigable Application, which they perceiv'd in this Prince, to encrease his Naval Power beyond the greatest Efforts of his Predecessors.

All these just Reflections could not fail to dispose a People, not over nice in Punctilios, to undermine that Vir-

tue, which they had not the Courage openly to attack; from these Motives of Interest has resulted that innate and insuperable Aversion which they have always born to the *English* Nation, whom they look upon as their only dangerous Rivals in the Trade of the World, and for this Reason have slip'd no Opportunity of ruining the Commerce of a People, whom they hate for being injur'd, and despise for being unreveng'd.

Affairs being in this ill Condition at Home, and such the Disposition of our Neighbours toward us Abroad, there happen'd an Incident which compleated the King's Ruin; this was the Birth of a Son in the Year 88; so that Posterity, which is generally a Support to other Royal Families, destroy'd King *James*; for if this had not happen'd, tho' our Fears, and Apprehensions, had been as just as they were great, we might have call'd out long enough for help,

help, before any Body would have come, for Mankind always were, and always will be govern'd by Interest.

The Compliments upon this Occasion, from all the Courts in *Europe*, especially the *Hague*, were scarce over, and the King return'd to himself from the Transports of Joy, which the Thoughts of such a Blessing had given him, when these Dreams of future Happiness were interrupted by the sudden Alarm of an Invasion from Abroad: The King, judging others by himself, would not give Credit at first to the repeated Advices of his Danger, conscious of having injur'd Nobody, he believ'd Nobody would injure him; at the same Time he had particular Lists given him of the Nobility, and others, who were engag'd in the Design against him, all whose Persons he had it in his Power to have secur'd, which might have prevented the Consequences that follow'd, but he was perswaded by

those, who betray'd him, not to do so unpopular an Act, which would inflame the Nation more, and increase the ill Blood; such Advice, upon such an Occasion, I believe was never given, and if given, never taken before. Such was the Fatality attended this Prince, who in his Misfortunes seems very much to resemble the King his Father: They both stretch'd their Prerogatives when there was no Occasion, and wanted the Resolution to exert their legal Authority in their own Defence, when their ALL was at Stake.

But it was not long before the Design grew too visible, the great Armament in *Holland*, at a Time of universal Peace, and such vast Preparations for some considerable Expedition, which could not in Probability be design'd for any other Place but *England*, were stronger Presumptions of a design'd Invasion, than the Credit of those who took so much Pains to deny it; to
carry

carry on this Deceit, the *Dutch*, by the most solemn Asseverations, assur'd the King's Ministers at the *Hague*, that they design'd nothing more than to preserve an inviolable Friendship with their Master, and made the same Protestations by the Mouth of their own Minister at *London*; how honest this Conduct was, their own Countryman, *Grotius*, can inform them; but it is no Wonder, if they did not follow the Maxims of his Book, in a Country, where the Author had too much Merit to live with Safety.

The King, to avoid the impending Storm, now took all the Measures that the Prudence of his wisest Friends could suggest, the Fellows of *Magdalene* College were restor'd, the Ecclesiastical Commission broke, the Bishops receiv'd into Grace, and all Proceedings that could be call'd arbitrary or illegal disown'd for the future; but all these Precautions were in vain, the

People persisted in their Disaffection, which was kept up by the Artifices of his Enemies; by this Instance we see contradicted a receiv'd Axiom in Philosophy, for here the Effect remain'd tho' the Cause was remov'd, such is the Difference between political, and natural Causes.

At this Juncture, the Imperial, and *Spanish* Ministers, in the Court of *England*, renew'd their Sollicitations by repeated Memorials to perswade the King to enter blindfold into a War with *France*, in Support of the House of *Austria*, letting him know, by a Side-wind, that the Pursuit of such Measures could only defend him against the Danger that threaten'd: The Emperor, so long ago, had in his Imagination swallow'd the *Spanish* Monarchy, upon the Improbability that ever that *Austrian* Branch should have any Children; upon this View alone he would now engage all *Europe* in a Confederacy

racy to procure him the Succession of a Crown, to which he had so dubious and controverted a Title; but we have since seen the Justice of Heaven in disappointing the Designs of unreasonable Men, who will pursue their Ends by any Means, tho' never so unwarrantable: This Prince, who made no Scruple to dethrone another, with whom he was engag'd in the strictest Alliance, upon so remote a Prospect as the Death of a Man young enough to be his Son, has now justly mis'd his Aim, and by those very Means, thro' which he hop'd to succeed; the Treaty of Partition has defeated his Hopes, by giving to the House of *Bourbon* the *Spanish* Monarchy, which would in Probability not have happen'd, if he had let that Prince, whom he took so much Pains to depose, have sat still upon his Throne.

The King, in Answer to these Memorials, told those Ministers, That
the

the *French* King having given him no just Cause of Complaint, he could not in Honour nor Conscience violate the Peace between them; that, as to the Succession of the *Spanish* Monarchy, he had no Right to decide that Title; that the *Spaniards* knew best their own Interest, and had Laws to direct them in this Affair; that if the *French* King should infringe the Treaty of *Nimwegen*, he should think himself oblig'd to support his Allies, according to the Stipulations of that Treaty; but as for entering into deeper Engagements than the Alliances already contracted, he thought he could not answer it to the Duty of the Trust reposed in him, to involve his People in an expensive War upon a Quarrel in which they had no Interest.

These Remonstrances, tho' supported by Reason and Justice, made no other Impression but to hasten the Resolution of his Ruin: So dangerous it

is for Men of Probity to act upon the Square, with those who have none; at the same Time, the King of *France* offer'd the Aid of his Fleet, and Troops, but this Prince, who was destin'd to be ruin'd by an Excess of Generosity, refus'd all foreign Assistance, relying on the Courage, and Fidelity, of his own Army, which Qualities he had not the good Fortune to find in his Generals, and some superior Officers, tho' the rest were generally faithful.

This Conduct satisfactorily confutes the Surmise of a *French* League, which made such a Noise, and did the King so much Prejudice, who was so far from being engag'd in any Alliance with that Crown, detrimental to his own Subjects, or the rest of *Europe*, that he would not permit the King of *France* to march his Armies to the Frontiers of *Holland*, as he offer'd, in Order to divert the *Dutch* from this Expedition; so much was this Prince
more

more tender of his Enemies than his own Safety.

In the Beginning of *October*, the *Dutch Fleet* set sail for *England*, but meeting with a Tempest which obliged them to put back, they were forc'd to debark their Troops, having lost some Horses, which Misfortune they themselves industriously magnified to blind, and deceive the Enemy, as if they were in no Condition to renew the Attempt; but soon after refitting, they sail'd again with a fair Easterly Wind, and arriv'd in *Torbay*, where they safely landed, without the least Impeachment from the *English Fleet*.

The King, upon the first Notice of the Descent, march'd his Army to *Salisbury*, where the Hopes of Success, which he might have justly drawn from the Number and Goodness of his Troops, were destroy'd by the Infidelity of his Generals, and some other

other Officers, who were the most loaded with his Benefits; such a Scene of Ingratitude, never known in any Age, or Country, will astonish Posterity.

Every Day bringing repeated Advices of fresh Desertions, the King, not knowing whom to trust, after being deceiv'd by those under the greatest Obligations of Fidelity, retreated to London, after having escaped being delivered into the Enemies Hands, by an accidental Bleeding at his Nose, which prevented his going to the Place, where the Miscreants had laid their Design of seizing his Person, and in Failure of that, dispatching him; on his Arrival in Town, he met the cruel News, that his Daughter *Denmark* was gone away to his Enemies; this was a Stroke, for which he was not prepar'd, at first he seem'd Thunder-struck, till by Degrees the Conscience of that Paternal Indulgence,

gence, which he had particularly shewn all his Life to that Princess, so aggravated his Grief as to draw Tears from his Eyes, and give Vent to his Passion; thus abandon'd by his Creatures, Favourites, Soldiers, and Children, he thought fit to consult his Safety, by withdrawing his Person for a Time; in Order to which, having first sent his Family before, he embark'd himself in the River for France, but being stopp'd, and intercepted in his Passage, was brought on Shoar near *Faversham*, where he was most inhumanly treated by the *Kentish* Rabble, among whom, two famous Knights of that Country had the Honour to be supreme Commanders in this Insult on distressed Majesty.

Nothing can be a greater Instance of the Instability of human Greatness, than the present Circumstances of this Prince, compell'd to lie hid in a little Fisher-boat, who had commanded

ded such magnificent Navies, and fly
for Safety thro' an Element, no less
than twice adorn'd with his Triumphs;
and the Theatre of his Glory; and
now at last reproach'd, buffeted, and
desp'd with Spittle by the Scum of
Mankind, who had receiv'd the Ho-
mage of Princes, and been anointed
on a Throne.

ON this Adventure, the King re-
turn'd to London from *Pewersham*, the
News of which gave no small Morti-
fication to his Enemies, who desir'd
nothing more than his Absence to
compais their Designs, but when they
saw him return thro' the Acclamations
of his People, who testified an unusual
Joy upon this Occasion, they began
to form melancholy Prospects of their
Success; this oblig'd them to alter
their Measures, and assume an Air of
Authority

* *Dukes and Marquisses of England, who are
first Princes.*

Authority unpractic'd before; a Message was brought the King, when in Bed, by three Lords at an unreasonable Time of Night, to require him to leave his Palace, and retire to such Place as should be appointed for him; the Nature of this Message was not more surprizing, than the Choice of the Persons employ'd to bring it, who being all his own Subjects, and two of them very obnoxious by being in Arms against him, consequently were not the most proper for such an Errand, as might more decently have been perform'd by *Dutchmen*, whose Language, Address, and Manners, were only suitable to such a Compliment.

This Accident naturally puts one in Mind of the greatest Action in the Life of *Alexander*, who, bred in the Ethicks of *Aristotle*, could not fail to be instructed in all Principles of Generosity, and Humanity, by so Great a Master;

Master; after that Battle, in which he took the Mother, Wife, and Children of *Darius*, Prisoners, he thought himself oblig'd to comfort the Princesses in such Distress, by a Message that might give them Assurance of his Protection; at first he pitch'd upon a *Persian* Defenter to carry this Compliment, but on second Thoughts, reflecting that the Sight of a Renegade, who had betray'd *Saudis* in *Lydia*, and declar'd against his Master *Darius*, might probably disturb the Ladies, and raise their Horrour, he recall'd the *Persian*, and sent a *Greek* with an Interpreter; this good Breeding, this Tenderness towards distress'd Majesty, is a more immortal Trophy of Renown to his Memory, than having conquer'd so many Millions, than having pulled down the mighty Empire founded by *Cyrus*, than marching from the Banks of the *Thracian Bosphorus* into the Bowels of *India*, and sailing in Triumph to the Mouth of the *Ganges*.

Upon this Message, the King found himself in Circumstances, which made it no longer disputable, whether he should retire, or no, especially after the ill Usage of my Lord *Feversham*, who was put under an Arrest, he justly apprehended that for the future no more Regard would be shewn to his Person, than Authority and Character; upon this Consideration, his Enemies having taken upon them Acts of Regality, after having in vain offer'd to put himself, first into the Hands of the City, and afterwards the Bishops, but rejected by both, he rather chose *Rocheſter* than *Ham*, which was one of the Places appointed for his Residence; from *Rocheſter*, soon after, he made his Escape into *France*, by the Connivance of those who thought it as much their Interest he should be gone, as he apprehended it inconsistent with his Safety to stay: Thus inauspiciously ended the Reign of *James* the Second, too good a Man, to make what
Marchi-

Marchiavel, and the World generally call a wise Prince; however, it is certain, if he had been of any other Religion, but what he profess'd, or rather none at all, he would have been at least as happy in this World, as some others, whatever might have become of him in the next.

Quem panis et peccasse, pene est innocens.

F I N I S.



Manchurian, and the World generally

call a wife Prince; however, it is

light, but what is the light, or rather

none at all, that have been at

least as happy as I, as some

others, whatever have become

ERRATA.

PAGE 55, Line 23, for this poor People, read the Irish. Page 65, Line 2, for built, read build. Page 208, Line 5, for mutual, read mutable. Page 227, Line 11, for Heir, read Air. Page 330, Line ult. for Pulpul, read Pulpit. Ibid. for recenter'd, read ventur'd. Page 366, Line 18, for asham'd, read Shame. Page 407, Line 9, for Resolution, read Revolution. Page 417, Line 3, delete this Action, and in Line 4, read illegal Action. Page 433, Line 11, for Saodis, read Sardis.





T H E
POSTSCRIPT.

London, April 20, 1722.



LONG since the Writing of
these Memoirs, there has
appear'd in the World a
celebrated History of the
long Rebellion, written by
my Lord Clarendon, in which that
Author has done great Injury to the
Royal

Royal Cause, as well as the King his Master, by his Partiality to his Enemies, and Injustice to his Friends, even his most gallant, and most faithful Servants, whose Characters he has treated with the last Disingenuity: It is not impossible, but the World may be set right in Time as to some of those Matters, if it were only to take away a Handle from some Anniversary Preachers on the 30th of *January*, who, when they would palliate the Rebellion, excuse the Parricides, and soften the Atrocity of the Fact, always in their Justification, appeal to the Noble Historian.

What Opinion the renown'd General *Monk* had of this Noble Historian, the following *Anecdote* will satisfy the World; when Sir *John Granvill*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, came from the King to the General, he brought him a Blank to put down his own Conditions,

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tions, which he generously refus'd, declaring he would make no Bargain with his Prince; after they had settled the Affair, and Sir *John* was going away, the General call'd him back, and told him, Cousin, I must break my Word, I promis'd I would make no Bargain with the King, but I must oblige him to one Condition, to keep what has pass'd a Secret, and especially from two Persons, who, of all Mankind, must be the last who know it; and then nam'd Sir *Edward Hyde*, and another Great Man, whom there is no Necessity to mention.

But this is certain, and known to all, who are never so little acquainted with the History of those Times, that the King's Affairs in the West were in the most flourishing Condition, when this great Historian was sent down to superintend; but, by what Fatality I know not, Mr. *Hyde* was no sooner arrived

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rived in those Parts but the Chancellor of the Exchequer set them all together by the Ears, unravell'd their Schemes, broke all their Measures, and, in short, ruin'd the Royal Interest in that Part of the Kingdom, which ended in the final Destruction of the King.

FINIS.



